

FBI

Date: 1/16/61

REC-55

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered on 11/11/60, by TODOR ZHIVKOV, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, to the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present at this meeting, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the Communist Party, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C, in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer LOIS ALBERTSEN on 1/5/61.

- EX-134  
1-1243 1-1243  
3 - Bureau (Encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:amk  
(5)

57 FEB 8 1961

Approved: J. H. [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 16, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF TODOR ZHIVKOV, DELIVERED  
TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 11, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, has furnished the following information:

*BU/P21-K*

On November 11, 1960, the meeting of representatives  
of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a  
speech by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian  
Communist Party. The sessions of this meeting were held  
in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The  
following is the essence of the remarks of Todor Zhivkov:

"It was correct to convene this conference. This  
conference will strengthen the unity of our movement. The  
drafting committee did a great and fruitful job. The  
delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party endorses the  
speech of Comrade Nikita Khrushchev and his great contri-  
butions.

"We also endorse the evaluation of the draft  
document made by Comrade Mikhail Suslov. Every Party can,  
on the basis of this draft, work out in each country a  
correct line of its own on strategy and tactics. This  
new draft is based on the 20th and 21st Congresses of the  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the Moscow  
Declaration.

"You will bear with me if I analyze this draft  
point by point. We need to emphasize certain points in  
this draft."

At this point Zhivkov read several sections from  
the draft declaration but did not add any constructive  
comments. The essence of his remarks continues.

100-428091-1145

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

*1 Philanthropy AC9(A-1)  
1 " JCS  
11/24/61  
JWH*

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF TODOR ZHIVKOV,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 11, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The expose of imperialism by Nikita Khrushchev during the last few years has been a contribution to the world Communist movement. At the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations, Comrade Khrushchev put the light on imperialism and made it squirm.

"The fraternal aid which Bulgaria has received from the Soviet Union has sped its industrial and economic development. The Soviet Union does the same for others very often at the expense of its own needs. The U.S.S.R. could have a very high standard of living but it puts international solidarity and aid to other socialist countries first.

"We need a center for the revolutionary movement. We say this center is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has been the center for decades and has vast experiences in all fields.

"Our Party believes in the fight on two fronts. During the last few years the international Communist movement has inflicted serious defeats upon the exponents of revisionism and the Yugoslav revisionists. The agents of revisionism have been ousted in all Parties.

"Since imperialism is not finished, its ideology will continue to penetrate the working class movement, therefore, we need vigilance against revisionism and sectarianism. Leftism or sectarianism has hurt our movement in the world. V. I. Lenin wrote about such problems of leftism and sectarianism.

"Dimitrov, the great international leader and a leader of our Party until his death, aimed his blows chiefly at sectarianism at the 7th Congress of the Communist International.

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SPEECH OF TODOR ZHIVKOV,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 11, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

"At one time the Bulgarian Communist Party was dominated by sectarianism. It was divorced from reality. It had no realistic program. It had a left slogan, on the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which further isolated it from the masses. It was with the help of Dimitrov that we beat the sectarians after several years and so we were prepared for revolution after the war.

"The cult of Stalin's personality did us great harm. We lost a good part of our cadre as a result of Stalin's cult of the personality. Now, as a result of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we have rid ourselves of the consequences of the cult of personality and we pursue Leninist norms of work.

"Our movement needs one common, collectively worked out line for the entire world. We work under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We need discipline and cohesion, but a new Communist International is not necessary. What we need is a common line and unity. The Bulgarian Communist Party will follow the line as worked out here in the statement."

The source pointed out that Todor Zhivkov spoke on November 11, 1960, prior to the first speech of TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, to this meeting on November 14, 1960. After the speech of TENG Hsiao-ping, the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party submitted a written document which contained some very sharp statements about the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor. This written document also contained a more militant defense of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Nikita Khrushchev.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *also*

DATE: January 27, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FB*SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	✓
Mohr	
Parsons	✓
Belmont	✓
Callahan	✓
DeLoach	✓
Malone	✓
McGuire	✓
Rosen	✓
SEN RAE	✓
Trotter	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Ingram	✓
Gandy	✓
EVANS	✓

My memorandum 1-24-61 pointed out that CG 5824-S\*, during the eighth Solo mission, met with Vladimir Barkovsky in Moscow, Russia, on 12-13-60. Barkovsky is a counselor assigned to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations. Additional clandestine contacts in New York City between Barkovsky and our informants (CG 5824-S\* and NY 694-S\*) were arranged at this meeting.

New York airtel 1-26-61 discloses that CG 5824-S\* and Barkovsky had a clandestine meeting in New York City on the evening of 1-25-61. Barkovsky inquired whether NY 694-S\* had as yet moved his office, inasmuch as the Soviets feel its present location constitutes a security hazard for meetings between Barkovsky and NY 694-S\*. The Soviets feel the informant's office is too close to Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), headquarters. (The New York Office has already been instructed to submit recommendations as to the feasibility of moving the office of NY 694-S\* to another location.)

Barkovsky told CG 5824-S\* to instruct NY 694-S\* to meet Barkovsky on the evening of 2-3-61. At the time of this meeting, NY 694-S\* is to have in his possession, but not with him, a hired car, the description and license number of which are to be furnished to Barkovsky on 2-3-61. A second meeting with NY 694-S\* will then be arranged to be held several days later, and at this second meeting NY 694-S\* is to have the hired car with him. The New York Office is attempting to arrange for technical coverage of the automobile which NY 694-S\* is to drive when he meets Barkovsky the second time. *ff*

100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:eab  
(5) *92*

REC-100-428091-1146

13 FEB 1 1961

COPY TO MR. TOLSON *REC-100*

57 FEB 3 1961

Memorandum from Mr. Baumgardner  
to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

Barkovsky requested that NY 694-S\* be ready to deliver to Barkovsky on 2-3-61, on microfilm, copies of pertinent CPUSA documents referring to the recent CPUSA National Committee meeting held in New York City on 1-20/22-61.

It was agreed between Barkovsky and CG 5824-S\* that in the event of an emergency Barkovsky will make contact with Alexander Trachtenberg if Barkovsky is unable to contact CG 5824-S\* or NY 694-S\*. Trachtenberg is the head of International Publishers, Incorporated, a Communist Party (CP) publishing firm. It was also agreed that CG 5824-S\* will contact Barkovsky in about two months to arrange further meetings.

The informant explained to Barkovsky that CPUSA contact with the Cuban CP had been severed and that the Canadian CP was being requested to use its channels to maintain contact between the CPUSA and the Cuban CP. Barkovsky was asked to transmit this information to the Soviets.

Jim Allen, CP National Committee member, who is presently in the Soviet Union, has written a letter to Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, disclosing that Allen would like to visit Peking, China. CG 5824-S\* requested Barkovsky to transmit a message to Allen through Soviet channels that the CPUSA's instructions to Allen are that he should not go to China under any circumstances.

ACTION:

For your information, meetings between our informants and Barkovsky are being closely supervised and you will be promptly advised of the results of these planned clandestine meetings.

7

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
1/18

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SOLO

IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by WALTER ULBRICHT, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK/LMA/djs  
 (5)

52 FEB 6 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Wick



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 10, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF WALTER ULBRICHT TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 15, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The following is the essence of the remarks of Walter Ulbricht.

"We are gathered here to adopt a declaration which, for us, should be a program. We should give our thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Presidium and to the entire committee producing the draft. In his speech Comrade Khrushchev showed us how to overcome differences and unite. We regret that Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping, Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC), went back and undid some things that were agreed to. Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping really had no constructive suggestions. We thought that the CPC would meet us half way and we would reach an agreement.

"If the 81 Communist Parties adopt the declaration it is of great significance and should cement the unity and push socialism forward. It should also give impetus to the working class movement and to the movement for peace. The CPSU has shown the way to cooperate, but the Chinese comrades have emphasized the differences. The CPC has raised problems that should not have been raised at this meeting. I am referring to problems of state.

"The dogmatic statements of the CPC representatives at world organizations of labor, peace, etc., have harmed the world Communist movement. Some of their statements have also been insulting to the CPSU and to Comrade Khrushchev. Life has borne out and substantiated the events since 1957. We of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) say that the 20th Congress of the

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1147  
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SPEECH OF WALTER ULBRICHT TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU is not a question of one Party. That Congress was a turn for the international Communist movement.

"The Declaration of 1957, therefore, adopted a position on the theses of that Congress. This Congress dealt with the construction of Communism in the U.S.S.R., the construction of socialism in other countries, the colonial movement, etc., etc., and it replaced phraseology with actual work for peace and in this way influenced the masses and helped the work of the Communist Parties in other capitalist countries, including Britain, the United States, and others.

"Those who say, we told you so, because of the Summit collapse or the U-2 incident now forget that President Eisenhower and the Republican Party paid for Ike's pigheadedness. They paid for it in Japan and in other places, and the Republican Party lost the election in the United States. We ask our Chinese friends, please drop that outworn phraseology.

"Comrade Khrushchev's actively using socialist diplomacy has helped to mobilize millions. The SUPG agrees with the draft on the characterization of the epoch. We keep in mind that Germany has unleashed two world wars. Germany can regain respect in the community of nations if they, the Germans, stand for peace. We must prove, and we can do so, that Germany can develop its peaceful resources and show a road to the goal of a national Germany; that is, unification.

"There can be competition between East and West Germany, each working under different economic conditions. I want to say a few words about socialist development. It seems to us that the Communist Party of China has denied that there are laws for the construction of socialism. We say that one country alone cannot orient only on its own economy. We have to discuss how to advance by helping the more underdeveloped countries.

"On peaceful and non-peaceful transition, the German experience was that with the help of the Soviet Union we overthrew fascism and established a democratic state. In the future the transition can be of varied forms. The problem is to set up the

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SPEECH OF WALTER ULBRICHT TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

power of the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes, and if we fight for peace we will win the masses. Even in Western Germany, the hotbed of arms preparation, the ally of United States imperialism, it is possible to win the people for disarmament and peace.

"The Bonn regime of Chancellor Adenauer is fighting for hegemony in all Western Europe. German troops in France show that West Germany is playing a leading role in NATO. They achieved this position by submitting to United States imperialist world hegemony. Adenauer cannot carry through an independent policy. He, therefore, needs help from other states, especially the United States.

"West Germany is aggravating the West Berlin situation. It is beginning to place military orders in West Berlin. We have, therefore, taken measures to stop this. We will assert our sovereign rights. The Bonn Government has also taken counter-measures. For example, it denies our people visas to travel into NATO countries. They broke the agreement on transport. Bonn is threatening us with economic blockade. They are trying to undermine our economy. This is the part that the Bonn Government plays in the attempt to prevent peaceful co-existence. The Bonn Government wants to hinder agreement and prevent the signing of a peace treaty.

"We are working hard to become economically independent from Western Germany. We will need more cooperation from all the socialist states. The Bonn Government has backed down recently and is once again negotiating a trade and transport agreement, but West Berlin is sabotaging. We may not be able to fulfill our plan on time, but we will catch up because of the new relationship of forces in the world and the growing power of the socialist camp.

"The Bonn Government is in a bad position. It will not be able to carry through its revengist policy. Not only the German people, but other peoples, even in the United Nations, have come out against the Bonn Government. Bonn may try local war, but this could lead to a nuclear war.

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SPEECH OF WALTER ULBRICHT TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The Chinese comrades, in their broadcasts, say that imperialism should be despised internationally but should be seen objectively tactically. Our strategic purpose is to destroy West German imperialism, but this will not be done by minimizing it and calling it a 'paper tiger'. West German imperialism is a real tiger. Our task is to do away with the remnants of World War II and to mobilize the people for peace.

"The Four Power agreement makes no sense. We need peaceful co-existence with West Germany. We are proposing a ten year peace treaty which rules out the use of force. We are also proposing commercial agreements and we propose negotiations on a West Berlin peace treaty and on transport. We also are proposing an agreement abolishing war propaganda.

"We agree with Comrade Khrushchev that a Summit meeting next year should solve the West Berlin problem and other questions on Germany. The other peoples' democracies, too, must start a campaign on this important problem. We want peaceful relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R., but Bonn sabotages these peaceful relations. Bonn will have to give up its revengist policy and give consideration to a federation. Only disarmament will facilitate Germany's development as a peaceful state.

"Now, about some other problems. The CPC has scored successes in socialist construction, but certain peculiar conditions in China have caused them to resort to one-sided development. The Chinese comrades are resorting to the Sinification of Marxism-Leninism. The next thing we know, we should not be surprised if someone comes up with the theory of an Americanization of Marxism-Leninism.

"We cannot understand why the CPC has departed from its own Eighth Congress. Where was the Chinese variant of Marxism-Leninism adopted? What Congress did this? Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping has great regard for the privileges of a minority and he wants to protect its rights and the right of the veto. We are shocked by Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's statement, especially when he tries to utilize Lenin to justify splits and factionalism.

"The Chinese comrades may be correct in saying that there may be divergent views. Well, we need to discuss these, but it

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SPEECH OF WALTER ULBRICHT TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

is wrong for MAO Tse-tung not to show up here and it is wrong for these comrades just to use the quotations which he sent.

"Dogmatism is growing and is dangerous, especially when we need to develop a popular movement in the world for peace and disarmament. At some international democratic conferences the Chinese comrades have repelled forces who favor peace. This restricts the peace movement.

"Now, about the role of the CPSU. The CPSU is the center of the world Communist movement, but we agree with Comrade Khrushchev that the phrase that the CPSU is the 'head' should be left out of the declaration. However, we want to thank the CPSU for bearing the brunt of the defense of the socialist camp. The various Parties should decide how much of the other Parties' experience should be disseminated by their own Parties.

"Some theories or theses have universal meaning. I believe that these problems are placed correctly in the draft declaration and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, therefore, endorses this declaration."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 24, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Parsons  
 1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
 1 - Mr. LaPrade

SUBJECT: SOLO  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Our informant, CG 5824-S\*, on his recent Solo mission, discussed financial support of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) with Boris Ponomarev, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Ponomarev emphasized economy and said there is a need for the CPUSA to establish its own source of funds. He promised financial support to the CPUSA during the year 1961 but no firm commitment was made for the entire year as he said the matter will be discussed again in September, 1961, if the CPUSA felt at that time it was short of funds. Ponomarev added, however, that the CPSU would not neglect the CPUSA when it is in financial trouble.

The informant noted that the CPSU did not provide money for gifts, clothing, et cetera, for the delegates to the November meetings held in Moscow, Russia, as lavishly as had been done in the past. The amount of rubles allotted to the delegates for miscellaneous expenses and for the purchase of souvenirs while in Moscow was conservative by previous standards.

Another indication that financial matters are being handled differently than in the past was brought out by a change in the method whereby the CPSU would provide funds for transportation to the Soviet Union. The CPUSA was told that when a Party member travels to Russia and transportation is purchased with CPUSA funds, the ticket should provide transportation only as far as Prague, Czechoslovakia, or a city in a communist country bordering Western Europe. No return ticket should be purchased in the United States. Thus, the CPSU will use the monetary exchange of Russia or another communist country for the travel fare inside those countries and will use some reciprocal arrangement with airlines of noncommunist countries for the return fare to the United States as this will avoid the expenditure of foreign currency.

Ponomarev also stated that if the CPUSA finds it necessary to give financial assistance to the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, this should be done out of funds which it raises.

100-428091

EX-134

REC-73

✓ 100-428091-1148

JWL:kmo

15 JAN 30 1961

62 FEB 8 1961

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

It is the informant's opinion that the Russians are accumulating a reserve of foreign currency or a gold reserve to be used as a part of the struggle against the West, particularly against the United States.

ACTION:

The transfer of funds to the CPUSA by the CPSU is being followed closely. You will be kept advised of developments.

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*just*  
*Z. Rave*  
*gph*  
*A*  
*d*  
*Step*  
*27*  
*✓*

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
 (Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL  
 (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SOLO  
 IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered by AJOY KUMAR GHOSH, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAS JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

- 1-1243 JWK  
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:LMA/lac  
 (5)

GALE

EX-11 REC-55

100-428091-1149

34

JAN 12 1961

C. G. Wick

OSI, 62, JCS, ACSI (AF)

1/19/61

PR: KMD

51

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
January 10, 1961

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 21, 1960, the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The following is the essence of the remarks of Ajoy Kumar Ghosh:

"Greetings to all the Parties. This is a unique meeting; a gathering of nearly all the Communist Parties of the world. The big army of Communists is marching to peace and socialism. There has certainly been a changed relationship of forces in the last few years. Socialism is advancing, imperialism is declining.

"However, our unity has been damaged. We must restore it and resolve to go forward in the future. The Communist Party (CP) of India believes that the document before us is a Marxist-Leninist one. We also participated in its drafting and we also believe that it is the basis for unity and that it is an advance over the Moscow Declaration of 1957. It deals with the present epoch, with peaceful co-existence and disintegration of the imperialist system, etc. We endorse all the propositions in the draft. We are also in complete agreement with Comrade Khrushchev's speech here at this meeting.

"Up to recent times imperialism determined events, but today it is no longer the decisive force. In 1931 there was war in Manchuria with the Japanese leading in the aggression. Later, in the 1930's Austria was gobbled up and Czechoslovakia was invaded. Mankind watched imperialism march but could do little about it. Hitler was eventually defeated and new socialist states came into being. Later, the great Chinese Revolution changed the relationship of forces. Korea, Indo-China, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq all proved to be fiascos for imperialism.

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SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"This is a period of triumph for the socialist world system which is daily becoming stronger politically and economically. We need to strengthen the unity of socialist development and we are optimistic. We fail to understand why there are differences on war and peaceful co-existence. The U.S.S.R. is looked upon as the constant champion of peace. This helps the struggle against imperialism. This was demonstrated by Comrade Khrushchev and the other delegates at the 15th General Assembly of the United Nations.

"As the draft points out, the Chinese Revolution gave an impetus to the independence movement in the colonies. This is acknowledged in the draft. The defeat of imperialism is unthinkable without the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in the lead.

"The victories of the national liberation movement are phenomenal in scope and content; like a storm sweeping over Asia and Africa. It gives membership to the United Nations. Now, nearly half of the membership of the United Nations is from Asia and Africa.

"In India there are 400,000 Communists. We have no illusions about the national bourgeoisie. We are looked upon as the chief enemy by the Congress Party. The CP is the single biggest political force in India and it is in the van of struggle for a better life. We are a force only next to the Congress Party. In the last election we polled 12 million votes. We took over the government of Kerala. We held power for only 22 months. The reactionaries were afraid of our example.

"We support every move of the Indian Government for peace. We fight its vacillations. We fight to keep India in the peace zone. The emergence of a peace zone was emphasized in the Moscow Declaration. Our experience shows that aid to India on the part of the socialist states, particularly the U.S.S.R., acts as an anti-imperialist force. The Bandung Conference was possible because China and India united. There was great respect for the people of China in India. We respect the Communist Party of China (CPC) for advice and assistance to us in the past.

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SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

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"We cannot understand, however, why in "Long Live Leninism" they do not mention the emergence of new sovereign states, except where they quote the older Moscow Declaration. We believe that the CPC stands for peaceful co-existence and that the imperialists want to disrupt the peace zone, but we also believe that the Chinese comrades have taken an attitude that has weakened the peace zone. The speech of Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping compels us to mention this breach in the China-India friendship.

"In 1959 the Indian press reacted to the occupation of Tibet. They called it a national revolt. Nehru reacted, too, but he took sharp issue with the reactionaries. Nehru demanded that they stop this anti-China campaign. We, the Communists, were the only organized force for China.

"China reacted, but sometimes unwisely. They charged that certain border towns in India were the center of the revolt in Tibet and also that the Dalai Lama was living in India under duress. Some of these things are ridiculous.

"Our Party supported the general stand of the CPC but some of the statements in the letters have to be characterized as wrong. We point out, also, that the loose term, "Indian expansionist", is wrong; that the Chinese even charged their friends with that. Even if Nehru made some anti-China statements, we remind the CPC that there is a distinction between Nehru and the reactionaries in India.

"We received very curt replies. We were told by the Chinese comrades to read the articles in the "Peoples Daily" on Nehru and his philosophy. They also told us that we had no right to ask for a meeting between Nehru and CHOU En-lai. Shortly after this the Congress Party launched an all-out attack on us in Kerala. Our government was dismissed and the events aroused the country. Millions of people participated in demonstrations for our defense. Even the capitalist press was against this dismissal of the Kerala Government. It was undemocratic.

"However, this was in the beginning of 1959. The bourgeoisie overthrew the Kerala Government, but it was a Pyrrhic victory for them. We won more than we lost.

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SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Shortly after the India-China border incidents, in a letter of August, 1959, we wrote to the CPC and told them that the reactionaries will use these border incidents to fight us and they will also develop a broad anti-China campaign. It will strengthen reaction and weaken Nehru and bring the Indians closer to United States imperialism. We received no reply. On September 3, 1959, we sent another letter to the CPC. We sent this letter from Moscow. We asked that there be an exchange of views between China and India to help pull India away from the Anglo-American camp. This would help the cause of peace, it would hit the reactionaries, etc.; but the CPC did not even reply.

"In our letters we always placed responsibility on the bourgeoisie. We asked the CPC leaders to help us so we could win the people. On August 28, 1959, there were eight notes exchanged between India and China, but we were told nothing by the Chinese. At the end of August, 1959, a new border clash took place. CHOU En-lai sent a letter to India in which he said the Chinese never recognized the Mc Mahon line; it was an imperialist border line. CHOU En-lai asked for more territory, which he claimed as China's. He asked for 90,000 square kilometers of territory. Even if this territory was acquired by the British, the fact remains that Indian people live there.

"Why was this question not raised at Bandung if the Chinese thought about this problem? What an attitude to a country in the peace zone! What an attitude to the Indian CP! We believe that our Chinese comrades should have given thought to the interests of the entire socialist camp and also to the countries in the peace zone which are not in the imperialist camp. The Chinese comrades argue that the slogan "unity and struggle" is applicable to the national bourgeoisie and is applicable to this question of the border dispute. We say that this is not so. How do we isolate the bourgeoisie from the people? This 90,000 square miles of barren land placed our Party in a very difficult situation. Our friends were bewildered and China lost the good will of millions of people in India.

"We said nothing openly. We wanted to discuss these problems. We had a frank discussion in October, 1959, but we

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SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

were not in agreement. We argued that if both countries gave the frontier legal recognition, agreement could be reached. Later, at the agricultural exhibit which was held in India, an effort was to be made to contact the Indian leaders. However, a little later another clash at the border took place and Indian soldiers were killed in a remote area occupied by a few people. Now, even this remote, isolated territory is in the public mind.

"Again we asked the Chinese comrades to express sorrow and sympathy without blaming one side or the other, and to start negotiations. The Chinese Peoples' Republic did not issue such a statement, but on November 7, 1959, they sent a note to Nehru. CHOU En-lai came to India but it was too late. The reactionaries had the upper hand. There was little progress made.

"These discussions and disputes continue, although there have been no open border clashes for a year. If the Chinese Peoples' Republic would make an effort they could help peace; they could help us. The CPC charged that the Tass statement was wrong and damaged the interests of China and was issued to please President Eisenhower. The Chinese complained that there was not a word of condemnation or blame of imperialism in this statement. We consider that the Tass statement was correct and wise.

"Some comrades think that since there was a clash between a socialist state and a capitalist state the U.S.S.R. should have lined up with the Chinese Peoples' Republic. When United States imperialism threatened China the U.S.S.R. gave it a warning, but these border clashes are not of the kind that threaten China. These were not acts of aggression by either China or India. The position taken by the Soviet Union on this helped us and prevented the disruption of relations between India and the socialist countries. We should approach these problems not as border clashes but rather with the idea in mind that India is a part of the peace zone and is in the anti-colonial camp.

"Now, regarding the divergencies in the draft declaration that we have before us. We favor including in the document the section on the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU just as it stands.

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SPEECH OF AJOY KUMAR GHOSH TO THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

We disagree with the Chinese amendments to delete the 20th and 21st Congresses. Our experience and the consequences of the personality cult also compel us to disagree with the Chinese.

"On national Communism, we reject the CPC amendment. I do not agree that national Communism is the same as bourgeois nationalism. Bourgeois nationalism is wider in scope. National Communism is used to deceive people, but offers up a certain different brand of Communism. We place the stress on international Communism and we say that this is Marxism-Leninism.

"We agree with Comrade Khrushchev that we should drop the phrase "the CPSU is the lead Party". We favor some additions on South Africa which will deal with race relations, and we want to see in this document a condemnation of South Africa.

"Now, finally, on the paragraph regarding factionalism and groupings. We believe it is needed but in view of the quarrels we should drop this so it cannot be used by our enemies. We should stress the equality of Parties and the importance of unity and cohesion."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FBI

Date: 1/18/61

REC-96

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum concerning the visit of the CP, USA delegation to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, Russia on 10/2/60. It is noted that the CP, USA delegation consisted at that time of only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

For this reason, mentioned above, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions contained in reBulet.

Information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/29/60.

1-1243 1-1243 *extra encls. GALE*  
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:jem  
 (5)

REC-96

100-428091-1150

JAN 21 1961

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Memorandum to the Bureau  
 1-25-61 L. H. L.

Approved: *James A. Gale*  
 62 FEB 1 1961  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 18, 1961

~~SECRET~~

VISIT OF COMMUNIST PARTY(CP), USA  
DELEGATION TO THE CHINESE  
EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 2, 1960

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On October 2, 1960, the CP, USA representatives on the Committee to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia, visited the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, Russia. The CP, USA representatives had previously notified the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) of their intention to do this. An automobile furnished by the CCCPSU was used by the CP, USA delegation even though the CP of China (CPC) sent an automobile to the hotel where the CP, USA delegation was staying. In this automobile of the CPC were the following:

*china USSR*  
TANG Ming-chao and Madam YU Chi-ying of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the CPC (CCCPC) and *china USSR* LIU Ning-yi, member of the CCCPC.

*china USSR*  
The CP, USA delegation arrived at 10:00 a.m., at the new Chinese Embassy which is in the Lenin Hills and not too far from the Moscow University. There is an artificial lake and park surrounding the Embassy.

The CP, USA delegates were taken to a sitting room by TANG Ming-chao and were handed an English translation of a 165 page letter of the CPC dated September 10, 1960.

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100-428091-1150

ENCLOSURE

VISIT OF CP, USA  
DELEGATION TO THE  
CHINESE EMBASSY IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 2, 1960

~~SECRET~~

The CP, USA delegates told TANG Ming-chao that in regard to the ideological dispute between the CPSU and the CPC, the CP, USA supported the position of the CPSU and would not compromise on principle. Yet the CP, USA would not lead the fight against the CPC and wanted to retain fraternal relationships with the CPC.

TANG Ming-chao said that no matter what happened in the meeting in Moscow, relationship between the CP, USA and the CPC would be continued. He said that the CPC has new editions of the works of MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, and would sell copies to the CP, USA, at reduced rates. Further, the CPC wants to receive documents issued by the CP, USA and is prepared to purchase any extra books which Alexander Trachtenberg may have.

Alexander Trachtenberg is a member of the CP, USA, and operator of International Publishers in New York City.

The CP, USA delegates read the CPC letter until 1:00 p.m., and were invited to lunch by TANG Ming-chao. After lunch they continued reading until 5:00 p.m., but could not make notes from the CPC letter. The letter called Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU, a tool of imperialism and criticized him in general.

When the CP, USA delegation finished reading the CPC letter, TANG Ming-chao asked what they thought of the document. The CP, USA delegates asked for time to digest its contents.

TANG Ming-chao then stated that the leadership of the CPC wants to keep in contact with the CP, USA. The CP, USA delegates agreed to do this and added that China occupies a big part of the political life of the CP, USA.

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VISIT OF CP, USA  
DELEGATION TO THE  
CHINESE EMBASSY IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA ON  
OCTOBER 2, 1960

~~SECRET~~

The CP, USA delegates were then escorted to the CCCPSU automobile which had been waiting for them since their arrival at the Chinese Embassy.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/18/61

REC-94

EX-108

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning SATOMI HAKAMADA and Presidential Press Secretary JAMES HAGERTY.

The letterhead memorandum is classified "secret" since the statement by HAKAMADA was made in Moscow, Russia and at most 6 members of the CP, USA delegation knew that HAKAMADA made this statement. The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., to further protect CG 5824-S\*.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 12/18/60.

- 1-1243  
3 - Bureau (AM) (RM) (RRR) (Encls. 7)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago  
JEK:jem  
(5)

GALE

REC-94

100-428091-1151

JAN 21 1961

C. Q. Wick

ENCLOSURE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Info re CP of Japan  
per Hakamada, in  
Moscow previously  
disseminated, just  
for



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No: 100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 18, 1961

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 07-01-2011

INFORMATION CONCERNING SATORI  
HAKAMADA AND PRESIDENTIAL PRESS  
SECRETARY JAMES HAGERTY

SECRET

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holmes  
Miss Gandy

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

During the latter part of 1960, Satori Hakamada, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party (CP) of Japan, stated that he was one of those who stood on the automobile of Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerty, when Hagerty was in Japan making arrangements for the proposed trip to Japan by President Eisenhower.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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JAN 19 1961  
FBI - NEW YORK

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100-428091-1151  
ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 1/11/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SOLO  
 IS-c

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the speech of TIM BUCK, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, delivered on 11/16/60 to the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia. Including the representatives, translators, advisers and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the CP, USA were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the CP, USA delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Steno [redacted] on 1/5/61.

- 1-1243 1-1243 jwf  
 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
 JEK:jem  
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GALE b6 b7C

REC-31

JAN 14 1961

51 FEB 7 1961 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 11, 1961

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SPEECH OF TIM BUCK,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 16;  
1960 IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On November 16, 1960, the meeting of representatives of the eighty one Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Tim Buck, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The following is the essence of the remarks of Tim Buck.

Canada  
USSR

The Communist Party (CP) of Canada has discussed the problems we are dealing with at this conference. In fact, we began the discussion when the Number 17 issue of the "Peking Review" arrived in our country. Our Politburo thought that the CP of China used a leftist device. We objected to the use of a popular magazine which is circulated all over the world for factional purposes. The Chinese Comrades even criticized our program, Canada's road to socialism. We believe it was bad to go over the head of the Central Committee of the CP of Canada. Why did you not write us a letter or ask us for a meeting? Instead you criticized our program in your magazine.

Before the Bucharest Conference, we adopted a resolution disassociating ourselves from the view of the CP of China.

- 1) We endorsed the Bucharest Conference.
- 2) Our Politburo instructed Tim Buck to write a letter containing our views.
- 3) We published material in our press. This material countered the propaganda of the CP of China.

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11/18/61  
JWC

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF TIM BUCK,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 16,  
1960 IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~TOP SECRET~~

4) We prepared for our plenum a resolution setting forth in detail our position against the CP of China.

5) We sent our Secretariat to this Conference to endorse the line of the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and of course, the line of this conference.

"In our opinion, the CP of China denied the mass line of the world Communist movement. We of the CP of Canada regard peace as the foremost task. The statement made by the Chinese Comrades that on the debris of imperialism, socialists should create a new system is incorrect. Do you realize what an atomic war would mean for Canada?

"We would never be able to mobilize the masses on the concept of the CP of China that until socialism is universal there will be war. We reject the thesis that war must and will take place independent of the will of man. We reject the philosophic thesis of the CP of China. We call this mechanistic determinism.

"We say that man can now make history. We propose that this Conference continue as a committee. We propose that this Conference help to edit the draft and to popularize it. We want to greet Nikita Khrushchev and his speech. Khrushchev made an effort to preserve the unity of the world Communist movement."

The source advised that Tim Buck proposed that this November, 1960 meeting set up a continuation committee which would meet periodically. While this proposal received some support from the representatives of the smaller Parties, it was not given serious consideration.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FBI

REC-96

Date: 1/16/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered on 11/14/60, by KIM Ir-sen, member of the Presidium of the Korean Party of Labor, to the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present at this meeting, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the Communist Party, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:amk  
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EX-112

REC-96

JAN 31 1961

62 FEB 7 1961

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

Washington, D.C.  
January 16, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPEECH OF KIM IR-SEN, DELIVERED  
TO THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 14, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

*KOREA* On November 14, 1960, the meeting of representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by KIM Ir-sen, member of the Presidium of the Korean Party of Labor. KIM Ir-sen spoke on November 14, 1960, and prior to TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, who delivered his first speech to this meeting on this date. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

It should be noted that the Korean Party of Labor was caught in the middle. The rumor was that this Party was lined up with the Communist Party of China. It really did not, but it wanted to avoid the sharp clash between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The following is the essence of the remarks of KIM Ir-sen:

"The present conference of Parties is of great importance for discussion of key problems. The 1957 Moscow Declaration contributed to the struggle for peace and to the cohesion of the socialist camp and all the Communist Parties. Life bore out the Moscow Declaration. Great victories were scored by most countries in the construction of socialism.

"This draft declaration, which we have before us, correctly assesses the world situation and is especially clear in characterizing the present epoch. Our Central Committee agrees, in the main, with this document.

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ENCLOSURE

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1 Photo Accs (AP)  
1 " JCS  
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SPEECH OF KIM IR-SEN,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 14, 1960

"Now, we have a few points on the construction of socialism and unity. The Korean Communist Party always regarded the revolution as a part of the world revolution and a part of the building of socialism for the entire camp. Our successes are due to the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also to the help of the Communist Party of China.

"There are peculiarities in our country, of course, as there are in other countries, but we use the general line of Marxism-Leninism as other Parties do. We use the experience of the other Communist Parties in building socialism, but we especially use the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"The question is how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the peculiarities of our country. Remember that we were a backward country and that we were engaged in a horrible three year war. We had difficulties in our restoration after the war, yet we are building and have built heavy and light industry and are successful in agriculture. Some said this could not be done but it was done. The dogmatists wanted to swallow wholesale the experiences of everybody else. This created problems for us, but we followed the line of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and we succeeded. The more backward a country, the more diversified the experiences. We respect the experiences of all fraternal Parties, but we use methods in keeping with the concrete conditions of our country, Korea.

"At the present time our main task is the unification of Korea, that is, North Korea and South Korea. South Korea is in a bad way, but the colonial domination by the United States in South Korea has been shaken. We are unifying all the forces, including the former Syngman Rhee people. Even these reactionaries are welcome, as long as they want to fight for national liberation and the unification of our country.

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SPEECH OF KIM IR-SEN,  
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WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 14, 1960

"We are influencing South Korea. We have a big and tremendous influence among the youth. We have a great experience in South Korea, especially in the lessons of last April. Nothing could stop the people and the present puppet power regime in South Korea is shaky. Even the troops are restless, just as the people are. They are also dissatisfied with the policy.

"Our Party has advanced some new propositions for the unifying of our country and these are:

1. We ask that the United States troops be withdrawn and that free elections be held.
2. We are proposing a confederation between the North and the South to co-ordinate the economy of our country. This second demand is receiving wide support, not only in North Korea, but especially in South Korea.

"The struggle for peace is our most important task. We, too, believe that it is possible to prevent a world war. The foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. gives leadership to the world peace forces. Comrade Khrushchev did a magnificent job at the 15th General Assembly meeting of the United Nations.

"In Korea, United States imperialism is unable to unleash a war. We have the backing of the socialist camp and we feel strong, but vigilance is still necessary. The United States led troops of 15 countries in the attack upon us and in their effort to destroy us. They used our entire country as a battlefield. They used germ warfare, chemical warfare, etc., but with the help of the socialist countries, with the help of the U.S.S.R. and China in particular, we defended our base from imperialism.

"Right now we are fending off the provocation of United States imperialism, but there are real dangers of war in our part of the world. So I repeat that vigilance is necessary to expose the intrigues of the imperialists. We must constantly mobilize the masses. Peace needs to be fought for.

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SPEECH OF KIM IR-SEN,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING  
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WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 14, 1960

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"Now about a few other problems. We consider revisionism the main danger because this ideology disarms the working class. This is exemplified by the work of the Yugoslavs. We should not weaken the struggle against revisionism. In our Party we defeated the factionalists and we assured an upsurge in the construction of socialism.

" We believe in Lenin's idea that we fight on two fronts against the right and the left danger. We unanimously admit that the unity of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement is our foremost task. That is a Leninist principle.

"The imperialists of the United States are trying to split us from within. They are sowing differences. It is our highest duty to safeguard our unity and cohesion in the interests of the world Communist movement. We follow the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has the greatest experience. The U.S.S.R. is in the vanguard of world socialism in the fight for peace.

"We want to say, too, that the victory of the Chinese Revolution was the greatest event since the October Revolution of 1917. The Communist Party of China is fighting for peace and is leading its people to socialism. China has aroused the colonial peoples in Asia and in other parts of the world. The Chinese People's Republic helped us to fight the patriotic war. The Communist Party of China is loyal to socialism and to Marxism-Leninism. We need to consolidate for unity of our Communist camp.

"The Moscow Declaration of 1957 stressed the kind of relations necessary in the socialist camp and in the entire Communist camp. These relations of Parties should be based upon equality, respect for each other, and non-interference in each other's affairs. There should be no unilateral interference in other Parties' affairs. The relations of Parties should be based on mutual understanding.

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SPEECH OF KIM IR-SEN,  
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OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES ON  
NOVEMBER 14, 1960

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"Each Party determines its own policy and the course of its revolution. We consult and work out some collective policies that unify our ranks. Differences may arise but always keep in mind that imperialism is the main enemy. For this reason we should consider the present differences as secondary. Blaming each other is no good. We cannot continue to blame each other in the world arena. The problems which are the present subject of discussion are not very serious. They should be resolved by mutual understanding and solved gradually without haste. No effort should be spared to get unanimity. Take into account the fact that each Party works under specific conditions. The drafting committee has reached unity on some of the major questions. Only some minor problems remain. Let us iron these out and strengthen our cohesion.

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Date: 1/10/61

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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
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Mr. Callahan	_____
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Mr. McGuire	_____
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Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
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Enclosed herewith to the Bureau are seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the details of the 11/16/60 sessions of the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia, with the exception of the speech of ENVER HOXHA which has been reported elsewhere.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While six representatives of the Communist Party, USA, were present it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one from the CP, USA delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in above Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SA's JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

- 3 - Bureau (encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
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Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 10, 1961

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960 SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information concerning the sessions of the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on November 16, 1960, with the exception of the speech of Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labor. Because of the length of the speech of Hoxha it has been set forth elsewhere.

Remarks of Delunde Anibal Escalante

*Russia*

HO Khin, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Burma, was the Chairman of the opening session on November 16, 1960. Delunde Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba (PSP), was the first speaker. The essence of his remarks follows.

"We made a study of the draft document before us. We approved the draft as a whole. The document should stimulate the ideological development of each Party and should rally further the Communist Parties of the world as they apply this Marxist-Leninist Declaration.

"All the revolutionary forces of Cuba, not only the Communists, will accept this document and study the analysis of our epoch. I want to emphasize the character of this epoch because this is of great importance to each Party. The draft shows that the main trend of development is being determined by the world socialist system. This epoch is not determined by imperialism; not merely by revolutions in general but by socialism, and that has tipped the scales.

"Because of all this, the forces of progress have greater opportunities. They can make an all-out try for peace,

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

independence and socialism. Therefore, peace is related to the independence of the colonies, and it is during peace that they are shaking off the chains of imperialism. As a result, the roots of socialism are sprouting in all corners of our planet.

"We cannot overestimate the enemies. We must change and chart a new course. We Cubans can estimate the changes in the world. What seemed impossible ten years ago is now happening in Cuba. Even six years ago United States imperialism was able to stifle the Guatemalan Revolution, but today the imperialists cannot do as they please.

"The fact is that a popular revolution did take place only 90 miles from the coast of the United States. The definition of modern clocks will enable us to check our timepieces and help us to work out our strategy and tactics.

"Concerning peaceful co-existence, we assert that the Cuban policy is one of peaceful co-existence. Blas Roca said at our Party Assembly that Cuba is no longer a vassal of United States imperialism. We are opposed to a world war, not only because of the reasons given in the resolution, but also for national reasons. A local war in the Caribbean, too, would serve as a pretext for a war of United States imperialism to destroy Cuba. We favor reaching an agreement with the United States. We favor peaceful co-existence but on equal terms without imperialist pressures.

"Peaceful co-existence is not an obstacle to our revolution. On the contrary, time is on its side. Peaceful co-existence implies relations between states and does not mean class peace in each country or even on a world scale.

"I want to say some words about the road of transition to socialism. The Moscow Declaration of 1957 was quite correct. This thesis is further developed in the present draft and was explained to us quite clearly by Comrade Khrushchev in the first session. We re-affirm what our Party said. We do not glorify the peaceful way, but the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) showed that both ways are possible

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS.  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

depending upon the concrete conditions in each country and upon the development of the class struggle. Ascribing any other view to the CPSU is erroneous.

"The armed struggle, as it developed in Cuba, met a response in the Soviet Union and among our other friends, but let's look more deeply into this problem. In Latin America there are conditions for a peaceful way in some countries. While studying Latin American tactics of revolution, I would say at the present time it is not possible in Latin America to win peacefully merely by the ballot because in many countries - corruption and violence are used; and because United States imperialists and North American stooges control some of the governments and armed forces and have more power than the elected officials. They also use violence against the working class. Usually, in many of these countries, the progressives support candidates who are in reality of the bourgeoisie.

"We should participate in elections but we should not spread illusions. Cuba, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina show that it is not enough to win an election for President. It is necessary to replace the state apparatus. In Guatemala the President was loyal to the people, but the army staff was disloyal and they lost. In Cuba we have a different situation. There, we have a new state apparatus and a new army. In Paraguay, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua it is impossible to achieve independence peacefully. But in Argentina, Ecuador and Columbia there are repressions it is true, but we cannot say what road they should follow. In the march of events it may be that no armed struggle will be necessary but since we cannot speak for the concrete situation in the future we cannot say any more than what we are saying.

"In our opinion the Chinese misinterpretation of the 20th Congress can turn this problem of transition into a dogma. Keep in mind that circumstances may change. Parliamentary forms do not exclude non-peaceful methods and, vice versa, peaceful methods may be used if the situation is suitable at the given moment. We organize masses on the basis of concrete and suitable conditions. Remember Russia in 1917; the months of February, March and October. In our struggle against tyranny we mobilized

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

the masses. We used many forms. We used the elections, we used political strikes, we used demonstrations, we used petitions, we used guerrilla war and we used the arms struggle in the form of an uprising. Finally, these streams merged into one popular stream in the arms struggle under the leadership of Fidel Castro. But remember our perseverance and the work of the People's Socialist Party (PSP) in leading sugar strikers prior to the uprising.

"We must clarify this problem to prove that no reformist can lead to a real revolution. To make a real revolution means making radical changes and transformations. Anti-communism must be fought. The Communists must unite. This includes the Communists in the socialist countries, in Asia, Africa, etc. It means getting aid like we did from the Soviet Union and others. We believe that we can win this anti-imperialist revolution. We will introduce amendments, that we have in mind, to this draft. We have some ideas about trade union unity in Latin America and so on, but we are going to make every effort for trade union unity and for the expulsion of gangsters and betrayers in the Latin American trade unions.

"Even in the places where the peaceful road to socialism is possible we should raise the slogan 'disarm the Fascists and reactionary elements'. In Cuba where the anti-imperialist armed forces rule we have liquidated the gangsters.

"Now, about our document again. Our document should condemn factional and group activities. There is no place in our Marxist-Leninist movement for factional activities. As long as no Party is named, why should we not accept this part of the draft? The PSP of Cuba believes that the draft should point out the harmful consequences of the cult of the personality. Every Party was hurt by the consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality. This belief in the cult hampered creative Marxism-Leninism. It hampered independent analysis. It stamped out initiative and inner Party democracy. There was no collective work. Instead of analysis we limited ourselves to quotations from classics or leaders.

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"Regarding the CPSU, we must appreciate its role. No one can fail to recognize this. As to it being the leading Party, Comrade Khrushchev at the 21st Congress said that all Parties are equal. This is true and correct, but we must also have a thesis. There are Parties more advanced, more experienced, and we can say that the CPSU is the most mature and that it is the first Party among us. We can understand the noble reasons why Comrade Khrushchev suggested doing away with the idea of a 'leading Party'.

"The Communist Party of China (CPC) delegation has placed problems before us that should not be discussed here. The CPC sent out a letter some weeks ago. The CPSU answered the CPC on November 5, 1960. Now the CPC has placed problems of state before us. What can we do about these problems? We want to discuss the document before us to complete the purpose of this conference. If the CPC wants to interfere, let them do it after this conference; however, we believe that the CPC and the CPSU can solve these problems directly.

"I will not deal with all of Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping's speech. First of all, the charge that the CPSU prettifies or embellishes imperialism is wrong. We Cubans say this is contrary to facts and reality. The Chinese comrades are very passionate but they do not see the real situation. The most serious blows ever inflicted on United States imperialism were inflicted by Comrade Khrushchev. What about the first visit of Comrade Khrushchev to the United States? Was this not a great thing? Millions of people who heard Comrade Khrushchev during his visit began to question imperialism and see its ugly nature.

"Was Comrade Khrushchev's visit to the United States and to the United Nations, into the camp of the enemy, embellishing imperialism? On the contrary, millions of Latin Americans, Africans and Asians rejoiced in the breakdown of colonialism. Do the Chinese comrades correctly appreciate this?

"The Soviet Union had helped us even before 1958. Who recognized Cuba first? Who helped us to frustrate monopoly and the Pentagon? The United States sugar quota was smashed, thanks to the help of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union gave us great help,

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

more than many know. When United States Marines and warships threatened us the U.S.S.R. said don't touch Cuba; our rockets will offer help if necessary. The imperialists had to revise their plans. Is this fear of imperialism, Chinese comrades? Ask the Cubans. Comrade Khrushchev is a national hero for the Cubans and is highly respected and loved. You cannot convince us that Comrade Khrushchev is a lover of imperialism. This is absurd. No one will believe it.

"We discussed this question in the drafting committee and did not think that the Chinese comrades would come back to it once again, especially to the question of great power chauvinism. Can we speak of great power chauvinism when Comrade Khrushchev in New York broke all diplomatic niceties and went to the aid of Fidel Castro, meeting him in Harlem? We Cubans will not go for the charge of great power chauvinism.

"Now, on the problems of our unity. We share Comrade Khrushchev's position that our Parties stand on Marxism-Leninism. This is why it is possible to strengthen our unity. In a fight people go to extremes and are sometimes overwhelmed by passions. Do some comrades forget the importance of our unity? Sometimes we must forget our own interests for the moment for the sake of unity so that no one will get hurt. Fidel Castro said, let's strengthen our own might and not depend only on Soviet rockets. We do not want a disastrous conflict to burn the world. Imperialism is now staggering but it will utilize our disunity and may even unleash a war. Let us unite in the name of our martyrs, our heroes, in the name of Marxism-Leninism. Let us have a solid front at this conference. We cannot depend on history to decide. Unity is the task of today. History is slow, otherwise.

"The tiger still has fangs and claws and is bloodthirsty. When the enemy is cornered it is harder for him to initiate war. The underestimation of the present opportunities is bad. If there is a war Cuba would be the first victim. We have the will to struggle. We have developed a contempt for death but if we die, how will we debate if the tigers are made of paper or are real?

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"We face a danger now, but united we can win. Let us liquidate our narrow national ambitions. We can then adopt this wonderful document. Chinese comrades, we do not underestimate you. We give you arguments but you do not seem to listen. You keep on repeating your old arguments instead of learning. Are you prepared to accept a document which we worked out together? This would make us happy."

Remarks of Reza Radmanesh

*Russia*

Reza Radmanesh, First Secretary of the People's Party of Iran, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"The draft document before us is alright. The People's Party of Iran will be guided by this declaration. We also agree with Comrade Khrushchev's report. We have respect for the Chinese Communist Party, but this should not prevent us from saying things that need to be said or to say that the CPC brought in questions in a negative way..

"In Iran we have raised the need for a national coalition, which would be the same as a state of 'national democracy.' We should give the class structure of this state. It is the united front of all progressive elements in society. The draft is not clear enough on the question of the national bourgeoisie..

"The Shah of Iran is imposed upon us by the United States and British imperialists. Thousands of Iranians are in prison and are being tortured. We ask the international movement to conduct a campaign on a world-wide scale to cancel the death penalty in Iran for so called political crimes."

Remarks of Samuel Mikunis

*Russia*

Samuel Mikunis, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks.

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

"This is a great meeting. We hail the fruitful work of the drafting committee. We approve the draft declaration and the report of Comrade Khrushchev. We also re-affirm our loyalty to the Moscow Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957. My understanding about local wars is that these are wars unleashed by the imperialists. These are not wars of the people for freedom and liberation."

Remarks of Just Lippe

*Russia*

With Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, as the Chairman of the session, Just Lippe, Vice-President of the Communist Party of Norway, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"We have unanimously, in our Party, arrived at the same conclusions as are contained in the draft declaration and we endorse it."

"In Norway there are big struggles and the demands are being raised that NATO should not establish naval bases in south and west Norway. There is also a big struggle against the missile bases the United States is trying to establish."

"We must fight for peace and explain to the people of Norway that they could be wiped out in the first few minutes of war and that when the bombs start to fall it may be too late. We mobilize the people on the basis of the horrors of nuclear war. Such a war would also wipe out the working class."

"In our Party we have overcome the revisionist dangers but we also have to fight against sectarianists. We should not succumb to those who stress the forms of transition. The way it is placed in the draft is satisfactory. In this way we can mobilize the workers to support us; to achieve worker's power no matter what form is used."

"In the section of the draft dealing with social democracy, we should characterize the growing opposition to the right wing and those who favor alliances with United States imperialism. We should use England as the example."

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

*Russia*

Remarks of Dollores Ibarruri

After the speech of Enver Hoxha, Dollores Ibarruri,  
President of the Communist Party of Spain, spoke and there follows  
the essence of her remarks.

"We approve the draft declaration. This document will  
be our starting point in Spain. Three years ago we unanimously  
arrived at a common viewpoint. We would like to see the comrades  
who are holding back join us in expressing unanimity. In our  
situation today we have notes of discord. They come chiefly from  
China and Albania. They say that they favor our line and that they  
favor the document, but they say these things only in words. They  
are not showing it in deeds. In fact, we are being given ultimatums  
and are threatened with a split.

"A Communist Party cannot raise the question of a  
nuclear war simply because they have 650 million people. It is  
good to have that many people in our Socialist camp, but these  
numbers should not be used to pressure us or the world Communist  
movement. We are not gathered here to discuss the cost of turbines,  
the amount of wheat we can raise per acre, etc. These problems  
should be discussed elsewhere. We came here from all corners of  
the world to discuss war and peace and how to achieve socialism.

"Comrades, we are against a false unity. We must unite  
on the basis of principles. If we do not do this, we will argue  
again in a few months time. There is no lesser evil than compromise.  
I did not know about our differences until the Communist Party of  
China raised them. The CPSU told us nothing until Bucharest. Now  
the Chinese comrades act like Jesuits and they are putting pressures  
on our comrades from Spain who reside in Peking. If our Spanish  
comrades do not agree with them they are ostracized and some lose  
their jobs. This is why I can understand why the Soviet Union  
took their specialists out of China.

"On peaceful co-existence, we do not look upon this as  
appeasement of imperialism. Peaceful co-existence is the form of  
class struggle in our epoch. Look how Comrade Khrushchey fought  
in the United Nations. Why don't you appreciate this humanistic role?

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

In Spain Comrade Khrushchev's speeches were read with sympathy. We should thank Comrade Khrushchev for expressing the tyranny of the Franco regime from the rostrum of the United Nations.

"Now about the paragraph in the document on groupings and factionalism. If we took this out it would be a retreat from the Moscow Declaration. This part should remain. I also believe, as does our entire delegation, that the 20th Congress was of world-wide significance. It had meaning for every Party, not only the CPSU.

"Experience has demonstrated to us from Spain that the road of arms struggle is not the correct road. Our people in Spain have not forgotten the sufferings of the Civil War. For ten years we fought a guerrilla war. We won the sympathy of millions of people of the world. They were sympathetic to us in Spain, too, because of our heroism. However, despite all this sympathy, we did not win the masses; but now that we are pursuing a new policy of peaceful national accord or unity the people of Spain are sympathetic to us and the Communists have been elected by the thousands into positions in mines, factories, schools, etc. We have inflicted some smashing blows to the policies of civil war as pursued by the Franco dictatorship, and we were able to do this on the basis of our struggle for national unity, for democracy, for a peaceful way, etc.

"The policy of peaceful co-existence has aided us and it was the 20th Congress of the CPSU that enabled us to correct our line and our wrong methods of work. We do not cling to one road or another, but we have been able to use either one in certain conditions. Now, comrades, I charge that the CPC and the Albanian Party are using factional methods and methods of split. I want to say before this forum that in all my life I have never listened to a more disgraceful speech than that delivered here by Hoxha of Albania. I think this conference ought to repudiate this type of slanderous attack against the Soviet Union and, I would say, against all the fraternal Parties. Our delegation is disgusted with the speech of Comrade Hoxha and I am sure that he will be repudiated at this great meeting."

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NOVEMBER 16, 1960, SESSIONS  
OF THE MEETING OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

The source advised that Dollores Ibarruri is an accomplished orator. She was given a standing ovation at the conclusion of her remarks. In the entire meeting only the speeches of Ibarruri and Nikita Khrushchev received applause.

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Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of a speech delivered on 11/11/60, by RUDOLFO GHIOLDI, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, to the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia.

Including the representatives, translators, advisors and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of this meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the Communist Party, USA (CP), were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the CP, USA, delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/5/61.

GALE

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③ - Bureau (Encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK: amk

(5)

FEB 7 1961

25 JAN 31 1961

Approved: Jamer H. Gale

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 16, 1961

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SPEECH OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDI,  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 11, 1960

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

On November 11, 1960, the meeting of representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties heard a speech by Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina. The sessions of this meeting were held in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia. The following is the essence of the remarks of Rudolfo Ghioldi:

"We approve this wonderful draft of a declaration. The ruling class in Argentina has been declaring a so-called inevitable war as an ally of United States imperialism. We of the Communist Party of Argentina reject what we call the man-hating theories of those who think that war is inevitable.

"Latin America is no longer a reliable rear for United States imperialism. War is not inevitable. There is the possibility of mobilizing masses of peace fighters and to continue the development of the camp of socialism. It is sectarianism to think otherwise.

"We of the Communist Party of Argentina believe that the 20th and 21st Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had world significance. They had a bearing on our policies. We favor unity of all the people, including the national patriotic bourgeoisie, in the countries fighting against imperialism. In Argentina this is necessary in order to fight the menace of United States imperialism.

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ENCLOSURE

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SPEECH OF RUDOLFO GHIOLDE  
DELIVERED TO THE MEETING OF  
COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WORKERS'  
PARTIES ON NOVEMBER 11, 1960

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"The people of Argentina are with Cuba as that country girds itself for the attack by United States imperialists.

"We favor the draft declaration and we favor the section which is against factionalism. We condemn the bad methods of work of the Communist Party of China."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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F B I

Date: 1/10/61

REC-73

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the session of the meeting of the Editorial Commission held in Moscow, Russia, on 10/22/60. This was the last day of the plenary sessions of this commission.

While CG 5824-S\* participated in the sessions of the Secretariat of the Editorial Commission from 10/10/60 to 10/22/60, most of these sessions dealt with arguments over the phraseology to be used in the draft declaration. While some of these arguments were sharp, it is believed that the contents of the letter of the CPSU dated 11/5/60 and the report of CG 5824-S\* on the sessions of the Editorial Commission and the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties adequately present the details of the debate between the CP of China and the CPSU.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/4/61. It is noted that only CG 5824-S\* and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN from the CP, USA, participated in this meeting of the Editorial Commission. For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions in reBulet.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 100-134637 (SOLO)  
 1 - Chicago  
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REC-73

100-428091-1156

25 JAN 12 1961

EX-126

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.  
January 10, 1961

100-428091

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SESSION OF THE MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION HELD IN  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA, ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

The Commission to Prepare a Document for the November meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, also known as the Editorial Commission, met for the last time in plenary session in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, on Saturday, October 22, 1960. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) had made available to the delegates of the twenty-six Communist and Workers' Parties present, an initial draft of a declaration. During the period from the plenary session on October 8, 1960 to October 22, 1960, a Secretariat of the Editorial Commission went over this draft. Almost every word in the draft was the subject of an argument. There were many sharp and heated debates during the sessions of the Secretariat.

Remarks of Boris Ponomarev

Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCCPSU was the chairman of the session on October 22, 1960.

~~Boris Ponomarev~~, member of the CCCPSU and chairman of the Secretariat of the Editorial Commission, summarized the work of the Secretariat. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"It was the desire of the Secretariat to prepare a document which would deal with some historic problems such as peace, independence of the colonial people and socialism. The Secretariat met all these days until late last night, October 21, 1960. I believe that the Secretariat has produced a Marxist-Leninist document. One hundred and sixty five pages of proposed amendments were thoroughly studied. It was time consuming but the Secretariat had to work on the basis of these amendments and the draft. The representatives of each delegation had all the time they requested for an all around discussion.

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SESSION OF THE MEETING  
OF THE EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

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"Just to give you an idea of the number of amendments we had, I will recite only the more important ones. On the question of characterization of the present epoch, we dealt with 120 amendments. On the crisis of capitalism, there were 66 amendments. On the question of peaceful co-existence, there were 122 amendments. There were 45 amendments on the cult of the personality and scores of amendments and statements on various other problems handled in the draft such as revisionism and dogmatism. Just to indicate how hard the Secretariat worked and why it was time consuming, and many days were 12 hour days or more, we took two days on a few paragraphs concerning revisionism and dogmatism.

"This joint work in producing a document helped all of us. We elaborated the more important problems and theses. The document should help all the Marxist-Leninist Parties. There were delegates on the Secretariat from the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and from the newly independent countries. This made it possible to get the views of the entire world. The Secretariat tried not to expand the document so that its brevity would be more useful. We therefore, tried to put important thoughts in a nutshell with a vigorous style. While the draft sequence was followed, it is necessary to tell you that the document itself has been expanded and the amount of words increased.

"The CPSU introduced an amendment dealing with revisionism. In this amendment, the CPSU exposed the subversive activities and the anti-Marxist-Leninist practices of Yugoslavia.

"From time to time, sub-committees met in order to elaborate or combine views. Just to mention a few, there were sub-committees on the crisis of capitalism, on disarmament and on the transition to socialism. We had some very heated debates and sometimes the discussion was so sharp that we postponed conclusions to make it possible for people to cool off. We developed, finally, some new formulas and arrived at some unanimity in some sections of the draft.

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

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"We particularly agreed on the peculiarities of the epoch, on disarmament, etc. We also outlined in greater detail, the mutual relations of the socialist countries, excluding war from our time and revolution in underdeveloped countries. We also decided that each Communist Party (CP) determines its own revolution, on the basis of the historic conditions, on the basis of the concrete situations in each country and also on the general world situation.

"This document is now the document of the conference. The majority achieved unity on the document. On sections one, two and four, there are no differences of opinion. There are however, a few problems that still need to be ironed out in the third section. In the fifth section, we do have some sharp disagreement.

"The CP of China (CPC) said that it was necessary to add some new formulations to the fifth section. The Chinese Comrades received some support from Viet Nam and Korea. Other Parties insisted on expansion. The CP of Czechoslovakia wanted more on the cooperation of the socialist states. Both the delegations of the CP of Czechoslovakia and the Polish United Workers' Party insisted that we deal with the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU. Most all fraternal Parties thought that we should include these ideas of the CP of Czechoslovakia and the Polish United Workers' Party into the draft. The CPC objected. After a discussion, these ideas were included in the draft and the representatives of the CPC said that they will not object to this. The representative of the CP of Indonesia had said that this problem of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU should be stricken from the draft.

"On the question of the cult of personality, the majority wanted it as it is in the draft. Only the representatives of the Albanian Party of Labor objected and the representative of the CP of Indonesia thought that leaving it out of the draft would prevent arguments. However, the overwhelming majority of the Secretariat agreed to keep the phrasing as it is in the draft.

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

"On Yugoslavian revisionism, most Parties agreed to keep it as it was in the original CPSU text. The CPC, however, insisted that we eliminate the phrase, national Communism, and substitute for this phrase, bourgeois nationalism. I repeat, the idea of national Communism remains as it was in the text of the CPSU draft.

"I must inform the meeting that it was impossible to reach unity on the question of factionalism. Comrade Anibal Escalante from Cuba and Comrade Mario Alves of Brazil offered amendments to modify this section on factionalism. Although these amendments were acceptable to the body as a whole, there were some Parties which were against them. All Parties accepted the Cuban and Brazilian formulations with the exception of the following Parties, which wanted this section on factionalism radically modified or eliminated:

- 1) The CPC, which proposed its own amendment.
- 2) The CP of Australia.
- 3) The Albanian Party of Labor.
- 4) The CP of Japan.
- 5) The Korean Party of Labor.
- 6) The Workers' Party of Viet Nam.
- 7) The CP of Indonesia.

"For the first time in the history of the international movement, we have had such a preparatory conference. I am sure that this conference has produced a document that should serve as a basis for the bigger conference ahead.

"I want to conclude by telling you that we reached agreement on the major part of the document. We have a few things left to resolve."

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

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Proposals and Announcements

At the conclusion of the report of Boris Ponomarev, Mikhail Suslov asked if there were any proposals.

By pre-arrangement between the CCCPSU and the delegation of the CP of the United States (CP, USA), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a vice chairman and member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, made a motion that the Editorial Commission adopt the draft declaration prepared by the Secretariat for presentation to the November meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. Also, that the Editorial Commission adopt the report of the chairman of the Secretariat, Comrade Ponomarev.

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

*Germany USSR* Several other delegates made brief two to four minute speeches explaining why they endorsed the draft and the report of the Secretariat. Among those who spoke were Hermann Matern, head of the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Vladimir Koitski, head of the delegation of the CP of Czechoslovakia; Peter Borila, head of the delegation of the Rumanian Workers' Party; Ville Pessi, head of the delegation of the CP of Finland; Alberti Gonzales Paulino, of the CP of Argentina and Anibal Escalante, of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. *Finland USSR* *1-2*

*Argentina USSR* Suslov asked if there were any other proposals before this body adjourns and the larger conference convenes in November. *Cuba USSR*

The delegation representing the CP of Czechoslovakia proposed that this body go on record as pointing out the important role played at this meeting by the CPSU, the experienced vanguard Party. This proposal was adopted.

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

Suslov then pointed out that a sub-committee consisting of representatives from the CP, USA, the CP of Great Britain, the French CP, and the Polish United Workers' Party would be working on a draft of a peace manifesto. He suggested that this sub-committee work on this document between the present time and the convening of the meeting in November.

Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the CP of Japan said that he agreed with this suggestion of Suslov. He suggested that a representative of the CP of Japan be included in this sub-committee. Also that while the manifesto should stress peace, it should also deal with the question of national independence.

USSR  
JAPAN

Suslov said that he had no objections to the proposal of Miyamoto. Further, that any Party which wants to participate in the work of this sub-committee can contribute and their contributions will be accepted.

A formal proposal was adopted to include representatives from the CP of Japan, the CP of Syria, and the CP of India, on the sub-committee preparing the draft of a peace manifesto. The CP of Indonesia volunteered to have a representative on this sub-committee.

Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping

USSR  
China

As Suslov was preparing to adjourn this meeting of the Editorial Commission, TENG Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the CPC, started the discussion once again. The following is the essence of the remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping.

Communist Party China

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

"We believe that in adopting a document we should use the method that would satisfy all. In the past, this was the most efficient method. We would keep on meeting until we got results and unanimity.

"Through the joint efforts of all the Parties on the Secretariat, some parts of the draft that were inadequate have been improved. For example, the first section has been strengthened and improved as regards the question of unity against the common enemy, imperialism. We have also improved the part dealing with the present epoch, the part dealing with war and also the part dealing with the transition to socialism.

"However, the CPC regrets that we were unable to reach agreement on some important questions of principle.

"First, on the question of solidarity, we hold it is inappropriate to put in the draft the part on factionalism. We believe that this question should be placed, as in the Moscow Declaration of 1957, in the form of unity and equality.

"Our delegation gave the Secretariat detailed amendments and we were disappointed that they were not adopted. Why are you against such formulations on factionalism? We believe that without these formulations we would appear divided in front of our enemy. We would be using the method of sowing disunity instead of unity.

"Secondly, regarding the all around affirmation of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU in the draft document, we repeat that we always held that these Congresses have historical importance. But we hold that each Party decides for itself how to make use of documents, decisions and Congresses of other fraternal Parties. The present formulation has no place in an international document. We cannot agree with these certain estimates on the 20th and 21st Congresses and we will continue to ask that they be deleted from the document.

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

"Thirdly, on the question of the real possibility of excluding war from the life of society, we do not agree. We wanted something in the draft about guarantees. We thought that we had agreed on this but it seems that our agreement on this has been disregarded. For example, you might have put in the draft a few sentences from Comrade Suslov's speech in which he deals with this problem."

At this point, TENG Hsiao-ping quoted from the speech by Suslov. Immediately, Suslov and others charged that TENG Hsiao-ping quoted a few words which had been taken out of context. Remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping continue.

"On this question, of excluding war from the life of society, we believe that a more adequate formulation is necessary."

"Besides these disagreements I have enumerated, we have some reservations on certain formulations and we would like to exchange opinions on these, if not now, at some other time."

"The achievements of this meeting prove that if there is a desire for unity, agreements can be achieved."

"We will give a report to our Central Committee on this document. We hope that the search for avenues of unity will continue. This meeting was a beginning and can help make the November meeting a success. The CPC thinks that we can face the common enemy together and we will triumph."

member of the Presidium, U.S.S.R.

Remarks of Mikhail Suslov

At the conclusion of the remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping, Mikhail Suslov said, "there was only one proposal we voted on and that was the report of the Secretariat. As regards the three questions Comrade TENG Hsiao-ping enumerated and said that there is no agreement on them, these have been defined clearly and there is no necessity to go back to them."

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

We can take up these items in the future. Right now, the chairman states that the report of the Secretariat has been accepted. The draft document and other proposals that went with the report of the Secretariat have been accepted.

"I want to remind all the delegates present that there was no count of the vote at these sessions and I propose that this procedure be kept for the future meetings. We can say, therefore, that this method has been approved fully and that the report of the Secretariat and the draft document have been approved fully."

The source pointed out that the last portion of the remarks of Suslov were in answer to the opening remarks of TENG Hsiao-ping concerning methods and procedures.

Exchange of Remarks and  
Adjournment of Meeting

When Suslov finished speaking, Hysni Kapo, member of the Politburo of the Albanian Party of Labor, jumped up and said, "I agree that we have spoken in favor of these proposals but can't we have more time to express our opinions on the work of the Secretariat? Even if I agree with what we have before us as a draft, I still want to talk."

*Albania  
USSR*

Suslov replied, "should we continue talking? We have adopted all motions."

Joseph Adjiotrop, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Indonesia said he wanted to say something more also.

*USSR*

*Indonesia*

Anibal Escalante said, "if someone has something to say regarding the work of the Secretariat, or any other problem, let him put it on paper and turn it in. We have been talking for many weeks."

Suslov suggested that the meeting be adjourned until November 10, 1960. The sub-committees, particularly the one dealing with the peace manifesto will continue to work. The delegates for this meeting will report to their Central Committees so they will be prepared for the meeting

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SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF THE  
EDITORIAL COMMISSION  
HELD IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
ON OCTOBER 22, 1960

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in November. "The meeting of the Editorial Commission stands ✓  
adjourned."

As the delegates were leaving it was announced that  
there would be a banquet that evening.

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is  
the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is  
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 1/17/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the essence of the remarks of NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV made at a banquet in the Kremlin on 12/4/60. This banquet was held for the delegations of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties which attended the November meeting in Moscow.

Only 6 representatives of the CP, USA were present at this banquet and the information tends to reflect that the source was present at the banquet. For this reason the letterhead memorandum has been classified "secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., to further protect the identity of CG 5824-S\*

Information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN in form of dictaphone dictabelts on 1/11/61.

GALE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
 1 - New York (Encls. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
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 1 - Chicago  
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REC-76

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12 JAN 19 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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Per \_\_\_\_\_

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 17, 1961

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REMARKS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
AT A BANQUET IN THE KREMLIN  
ON DECEMBER 4, 1960

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The Communist Party (CP), USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

After the conclusion of the meeting of representatives of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia, a banquet was held in the Kremlin on December 4, 1960. It is estimated that between 400 and 500 people were in attendance at this banquet. Those in attendance included the various delegations of the 81 Parties, translators, advisers and technicians. At such an affair the toasts are always utilized to put over a point.

Remarks of Nikita Khrushchev

Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCPSU) acted as toastmaster. The essence of his remarks follows.

Khrushchev said in a jocular way: "Well, if you do not like me as a toastmaster, you can retire me. I am getting old and I am almost ready for a pension. But in the meantime, let me have my say".

Khrushchev, of course, praised the representatives of the CPs of the world gathered at this banquet hall. He complimented their good sense in arriving at a unified point of view. He repeated the cliché about the enemy always profits by disunity. As he had at a smaller banquet in the Kremlin on October 22, 1960, he once again talked highly of the United States, its development, the objective conditions and the high standard of life.

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100-428091-1157

REMARKS OF NIKITA  
KHRUSHCHEV AT A  
BANQUET IN THE  
KREMLIN ON  
DECEMBER 4, 1960

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Khrushchev then praised the CP, USA and its leadership. He repeated what he said at the banquet on October 22, 1960, and that is, that the American Communists are fighting against great odds and that the unemployed workers in the United States receive compensation as high as workers in the Soviet Union or other socialist countries receive in weekly wages for their work. He said: "You cannot make revolution to order. There has to be circumstances that develop the class consciousness and organize the workers to the point where they want to bring about a change. You can even have the best leadership and still not be able to make a revolution when the circumstances are not there."

Khrushchev chided some of the Parties in Eastern Europe because they pat themselves on the shoulder and say they must be good leaders or they say they must have good Parties because they had a successful revolution or they have a people's democracy or socialism.

Khrushchev said to these Parties in Eastern Europe: "Do not be so smug! The Italian Communists and French Communists and other Communists of Western Europe are no worse than some of you. The working classes are just as good as the working class in Eastern Europe. It just so happens that the circumstances after World War II made it possible for some of the Eastern European countries to make a revolution."

Here too, in a sort of joking manner, Khrushchev said: "Well, the Red Army was just a little closer to Hungary, to Rumania, to Germany and to other countries, than it was to Italy and France. The Poles know this very well. They would go to the ballot box and vote for some Polish name but it seemed to them that an Ivan, or someone who supported the Russians, would win."

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REMARKS OF NIKITA  
KHRUSHCHEV AT A  
BANQUET IN THE  
KREMLIN ON  
DECEMBER 4, 1960

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Khrushchev once again developed the theme that it is quite possible that revolution will take place in other countries under different circumstances and that wars are not necessary for revolutions. He said: "Therefore, let us give all due credit to the working classes of those countries still under capitalist bondage. It is quite possible for them to make a revolution under different circumstances. If we go on building Communism, and if we have a living example where we show them that our system can satisfy their material wants and their spiritual needs better than the capitalist system, the workers will make a change and establish their own system of socialism".

"There are all kinds of socialism and right here and now I want to say, even if some Comrades disagree with me, that they are building socialism in Yugoslavia. It would be wrong to put Yugoslavia in the capitalist camp. Well, what have you got in Yugoslavia? If they have no Communists, what have they got?"

This statement caused quite a stir in the hall because the Draft Declaration approved only a few days previously, sharply condemned Yugoslavia and here was Khrushchev once again saying good words about Yugoslavia.

Next, Khrushchev went into the question of diplomacy and sparred with those who thought that diplomacy is a betrayal of the international Communist movement. He said: "I get around. I have to talk to diplomats, to the leaders of the capitalist class. Lenin once told me about how we may have to put on a silk hat, white gloves and a frock coat and go out and shake the hands of capitalist diplomats and, if necessary, kiss the hand of the Pope."

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REMARKS OF NIKITA  
KHRUSHCHEV AT A  
BANQUET IN THE  
KREMLIN ON  
DECEMBER 4, 1960.

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"When I shake the hand of an Eisenhower, I think sometimes that I would like to wipe my hand off. I have greater regard for the Communists. When I shake the hand of de Gaulle, I sometimes think of Maurice Thorez. I would rather shake his hand. But diplomatic activity is necessary and is not necessarily a betrayal of the class struggle." The last statement was interpreted by many of those present as a dig against the Chinese.

Khrushchev then proposed a toast. He proposed a toast to the CP, USA, and its leadership. This was one of the big events of the banquet because more delegates got up to toast the representatives of the CP, USA than almost any other Party with the exception of the CPSU and the CP of China. Even the delegates of the CP of China went to the delegates of the CP, USA, to drink a toast.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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F B I

Date: 1/16/61

REC-75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SOLO  
 IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the concluding session of the meeting of Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia on December 1, 1960.

Including the representatives, translators, advisers and technicians, approximately 300 people attended this meeting. The proceedings of the meeting were not made public. While 6 representatives of the Communist Party (CP), USA, were present, it is the opinion of CG 5824-S\* that no one else from the CP, USA delegation has notes which are as complete as those of CG 5824-S\*. For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated November 2, 1960, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in accordance with instructions set out in referenced Bulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* [redacted] and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographe [redacted] on January 5, 1961.

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 3 - Bureau (AM) (RM) (RRR) (Encls. 7)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM) (RRR) (Encl. 1)  
 1 - Chicago

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Approved: G. H. 1/2/61

Special Agent in Charge

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

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100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 16, 1961

CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON DECEMBER 1, 1960

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information:

On November 28, 1960, the Editorial Committee of the meeting of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties began to work on a series of amendments to the draft declaration, which had been originally submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU) and amended by the Editorial Commission consisting of representatives of 26 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia in October, 1960. There were hundreds of amendments. By December 1, 1960 a few amendments had been accepted and some agreement had been reached. There was no basic change in the draft approved by the Editorial Commission. The Editorial Committee of the November meeting did compromise with the Communist Party of China by dividing Section 5 of the draft into two parts and adding a sixth section. The part dealing with factionalism was rewritten in generalized terms and the amended document was presented in behalf of the Editorial Committee on December 1, 1960 to the meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties by Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the CCPSU.

This final session on December 1, 1960 was held, as were all previous sessions of this meeting, in St. George Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia.

Remarks of Mikhail Suslov

The essence of the remarks made by Mikhail Suslov on December 1, 1960 follows:

"The Editorial Committee reports with satisfaction that the declaration has been completed, that the text is being circulated and that our collective effort has proved fruitful. Never in the

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CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON DECEMBER 1, 1960

history of our movement has a single document been prepared so thoroughly.

"All the continents were represented. Twenty-six Parties participated in the editing while all the other delegates were consulted. Thirty-two fraternal Parties suggested amendments in writing. All were examined and carefully discussed. Most amendments were not aimed at the main points in the draft. They only reinforced the primary object of the document and this conference, helped to consolidate the Communist Parties and gave expression to the Marxist-Leninist will to unite us.

"We faced many difficulties and searched for agreement. All agreed in the entirety. This is the unanimous will of all the Parties from all areas of the globe. The majority of the Parties shared in the discussions. There is no need to deal with all the amendments, but the Editorial Committee found answers to many questions on substantial features of Marxism-Leninism. The Editorial Committee found ways of consolidating the unity of the primary objectives, the needs of the working class movement and the necessity for unity to repel attacks.

"We were all united by the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism. All agreed on the observance of the decisions arrived at by all Parties. We, therefore, have unity in our ranks; unity of will and action. This is the supreme duty of the international Communist movement. These propositions rest on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin always stressed these. (Volume 31 of the Collected Works of Lenin).

"We also found an answer to the question of the cult of the personality as well as the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We reproduced in the draft declaration the purposes of the Moscow Declaration of 1957. We reached an agreement on the assessment of the peace movement. Thus we concluded that the peace movement today is the broadest movement of our times.

"We have also reached an agreement on the role of the national bourgeoisie, as well as the attitude of the Communist Parties to the electoral bodies of the bourgeoisie.

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CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON DECEMBER 1, 1960

"We also dealt with the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as democracy and as an international force.

"On Page 122 we left out the phrase, 'The CPSU is the head'.

"All these changes and alterations were unanimous.

"We also have a draft appeal on peace, and if you will remember, this was originally introduced by Great Britain and the United States. France, Poland, the USSR, China, Indonesia and Brazil participated.

"The world looks forward to our declarations. They are inspiring prospects for the people in their fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

"We have confidence in these struggles and in the strength of the international liberation movement. We have confidence that the statement and the appeal for peace will make the fight of the people more effective and peaceful."

Adoption of a Resolution Expressing  
Solidarity with Cuba

At this point the meeting adopted a resolution which expressed solidarity with Cuba. The resolution had been proposed by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

Concluding Remarks by Nikita Khrushchev

The meeting of the representatives of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties concluded with remarks by Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the CCCPSU. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"The conference is coming to an end. We adopted some documents. It was not for nothing that we worked so hard. The analysis of the present situation generalizes the experiences of

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CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON DECEMBER 1, 1960

all Parties. The main content of this document is devoted to the peculiarities of the present epoch. We mapped out further tasks for the liquidation of colonies. We have worked out an appeal for the people to prevent war.

"We are the most constant champions of the masses for peace. We will heighten the struggle of the masses for peace. International solidarity has reached new heights. All delegations present had an opportunity to speak and express themselves. We have reached unity in the fight against imperialism, for peace, for liberation, and for consolidation of the socialist camp. We have enriched the 1957 Moscow Declaration on the vital problems of our time. This declaration will become, like the 1957 Declaration, a vital program for all the Parties.

"The Communist Parties are developing ideological unity. The socialist camp is solving its problems and is more united for peace. We have a common platform in this document. The discussion is over. Now we must move ahead under the banner of these collectively worked out decisions. We must implement them; translate them into reality.

"This document is a collective asset. We must be guided by the formulas in this document. We are sure it will be accepted by all the Parties. The bourgeois press gave weight to the idea of a split in our ranks. The United States especially rejoiced. Now the imperialists will be bitterly disappointed. These resolutions are imbued with the Communist struggle for peace and socialism.

"The CPSU will discharge its duty. Our relations with China will be good and maybe even better than in the past. We hope that we will meet with the same feeling on the part of the Communist Party of China. We are all equals as Parties, but there is such a thing as responsibility, and we all share this responsibility. We, and the Chinese, have a bigger share of the responsibility; more than the other fraternal Parties.

"We will unite and disappoint our enemy. We will fight to preserve our unity. We will watch unity like the apple of our

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CONCLUDING SESSION OF THE  
MEETING OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA ON DECEMBER 1, 1960

eye. We will work for the cohesion of the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. We will strengthen the fight against colonialism, and for independence.

"The CPSU wishes success to all the fraternal Parties. Long live unity. Long live Marxism-Leninism. Let us close ranks. Workers of the world unite."

After the concluding remarks of Khrushchev, it was announced that the Secretariat of this meeting would be the guardian of the minutes of the meeting.

The delegation of the Communist Party, USA, and some other delegations, announced that they might not be able, for legal reasons, to openly endorse the declaration.

The meeting was then adjourned with an announcement that it would be followed by a banquet on December 4, 1960.

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This memorandum contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FBI

Date: 1/12/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

**SOLO**  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the 12/2/60 session of a meeting in Moscow, Russia of representatives of CPs of Latin America. This meeting lasted 5 days and was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow as guests of the CCCPSU. This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (ph) No. 12. It is near Abatskaya, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern 6 story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CG 5824-S\* was the only CP, USA representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN and HELEN WINTER were each present on one or two occasions during the meeting. Usually their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The sessions were conducted in the Spanish language, however, CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No member of the CP, USA has notes comparable to those of CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

For the above reasons and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~secret~~". Because of the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, the Bureau may desire to change the classification to "~~top secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., according to instructions contained in reBulet.

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3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago (100-134637 (SOLO))  
1 - Chicago

Approved: *[Signature]*  
51 FEB 7 1961

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

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CG 134-46 Sub B

The information contained in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Steno. [redacted] on 1/6/61.

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GALE.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 12, 1961

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DECEMBER 2, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On December 2, 1960, representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America met for the third day of a five day meeting in Moscow, Russia. The representatives of these Parties were in Moscow to attend the November, 1960 meeting of representatives of eighty one Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. This meeting of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America was held in the theater of a hotel limited to Communist Party (CP) members who were guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located near the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six story building.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

Remarks of Rudolfo Ghioldi

The first speaker on December 2, 1960, was Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"There is a growing sympathy for the Cuban Revolution in Argentina. The Cuban Revolution is having an influence on all sections of the population. The most popular and the most wide spread influence is among the peasantry because of the agrarian reform in Cuba. The People's Socialist Party (PSP) of Cuba has a wide influence in progressive ranks and, of course, in each Party. This is also true of the Havana Declaration. There is a big solidarity movement in Argentina, although the CP is illegal and semi-legal. This movement of solidarity offers great possibilities. There are solidarity committees

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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in the trade unions and mass organizations. The Party finds expression through these movements, which raise the question of anti-imperialism and the Cuban way.

"The Cuban Revolution had various effects on the different strata of the population. Sections of the bourgeoisie are scared. They are afraid of Cuba and the Castro way. Some sections of the bourgeoisie in Argentina have become enraged and have also become real stooges for United States imperialism. They attack not only the CP but also the trade unions. However, the CP is growing and so is its influence.

"The economic situation in Cuba cannot be solved by the rage and terror of the bourgeoisie. They cannot suppress by force the popularity of the Cuban Revolution. The new manifesto of the CP of Argentina shows how the peoples of Latin America and other parts of the world sympathize with and support Cuba.

"We have a central press and we carry on our propaganda through it and we also repeat some of these things in the provincial press. Our central press now has a circulation of 60,000. We are also spreading petitions. We are conducting a plebiscite for solidarity for Cuba and for the defense of the Cuban Revolution. This causes discussion among the masses of people.

"In view of our circumstances, the CP of Argentina could not meet in plenary session. However, the Politburo is meeting regularly. The principle objective before us in Argentina is solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. There is a wide movement, as I said, for solidarity with Cuba. We believe, however, that this movement could be broader and bigger. The Party also points to the need for material support to Cuba. We are

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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now looking into the possibility of sending engineers and technicians to Cuba. Keep in mind that we have to be careful so as not to denude the CP of Argentina of cadres that may be needed. But I do want to repeat that every organ of our Party, every committee, places Cuba as the number one problem.

"In Argentina, there is a wide experience in international solidarity. Our experience goes back to the Mexican Revolution of the 1920s and before. It also goes back to the revolution in Nicaragua at the time Sandino (Cesar Augusto Sandino) was leading the fight against American imperialism. Also there is our solidarity at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917, and, as you know of course, our solidarity and help to Spain during its revolution. These solidarity movements were always great mass movements.

"Our peace movement in Argentina is already wide and broad. But the last Politburo meeting of the CP of Argentina decided to broaden this movement. We decided that everything must be done that would favor the independence of Cuba. Even in the peace movement, the question of Cuban independence is raised. Doctors and others are being organized to help Cuba medically. I want to again say that all aspects of Party life have become permeated with the idea of solidarity with Cuba. The women are conducting a wide campaign too. They just finished a drive for a complete maternity ward which is to be sent to Cuba. Now the women are in a drive to collect money to send tractors to Cuba."

At this point, the representatives of the CP of Uruguay shouted out, "we are sending cows to Cuba." ✓  
The remarks of Ghioldi continue.

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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"Many municipal councils have voted solidarity with Cuba and voted some form of support to Cuba. There is a special organization in Argentina working for commercial relations with Cuba. This is not a narrow or small thing. It involves industrialists and merchants, who favor the development of Latin American trade.

"I would like to propose that we consider the declaration of a Continental Day of solidarity with Cuba in Latin America and we should try to make this a reality. Finally, I believe that this declaration of 81 Parties, which we have just finished discussing and adopting, should be of great help to all the CPs including the Parties of Latin America."

Remarks of Jesus Faria

*Venezuela, Russia*

Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Venezuela, was the next speaker. There follows the essence of his remarks.

"The movement in Venezuela for solidarity with Cuba started in January, 1959. It started in a small way. After the revolution in Venezuela in 1958, but while the fighting was still going on, we collected dollars for the Sierra Maestra guerrillas. The first visit of Fidel Castro outside of Cuba after the revolution was to Venezuela. He visited with a candidate who ran for President and who was backed by the CP. This candidate is a former admiral who believes that the CP members are the best patriots in Venezuela. When Richard Nixon visited Venezuela, this admiral said that not one drop of Venezuelan blood should be spilled to defend Nixon.

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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"The comrades in Cuba are very close to us, and this is not only because we were both colonies of United States imperialism. We have had close cultural relations with Cuba for a long time and our Party has been especially close to the Cuban Party which helped us to unite our ranks when at one time we had three factions.

"When Fidel visited Venezuela, he spoke before Congress. Originally all the Parliament supported Fidel. But the Christian Democrats smashed this solidarity. They wanted to condemn the U.S.S.R. and China. We forced them to back down. Publicly all supported Cuba even the socialists. This solidarity lasted one and a half years. Then the Catholics started a campaign of pressure to limit the solidarity. They used the executions in Cuba as an excuse and also claimed that the U.S.S.R. has too much influence in Cuba. Some of these people worked very closely with the United States Embassy.

"The CP press has many problems. But it has wide support because of Cuba. We also have the opportunity to use television for solidarity with Cuba. We have forced various parties to have solidarity with Cuba. Cuban representatives visit us very often and participate in social functions as well as meetings of many organizations. We also have a weekly newspaper called "Cuba Si, Yankee No." The Police assassinated one of the leaders of this newspaper. This set off many big demonstrations in Venezuela. The organization of newspapermen is sympathetic to the CP and that helps too.

"There are special travel agencies for exchange with Cuba so many go to visit Cuba. There are thousands of volunteers for service in Cuba. Many of them bought their own travel tickets. There are 100 deputies in Parliament who favor Cuba. They use the press conference as a means to mobilize support for Cuba. Even in the

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DECEMBER 2, 1960.  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA.

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government party there is a faction for Cuba and this faction is against its own party's reactionary measures. When Fidel planned this visit to Venezuela, the government wanted to cancel his visit. However, it was afraid to do so and was compelled to invite him.

"The congress for underdeveloped peoples which took place in Havana, was attended by representatives of the Venezuelan Government because they were compelled to attend. At the meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS), the foreign ministers could not agree. The foreign minister of Venezuela, as you will recall, did not agree with action against Cuba. He had to resign. He is for Cuba but is anti-Communist.

"The government party is against Cuba. This party has a base among workers and peasants. We have a better base. The government now says that it favors the Cuban Revolution but is against the Castro type of government. The government says that the leftists in Venezuela want a Castro type of government. When we work to help Cuba, we are actually working for ourselves. Fidel is the most popular person in Venezuela. The government party is now split and divided due to its attitude on Cuba. There is a left wing in this government party and those in this left wing are our future allies.

✓ "The majority of the trade unions are under the influence of the CP. We have been winning 9 out of every ✓ 10 elections in the trade unions. The trade unions continue to help Cuba.

"The universities have become the bulwark for the revolution. Great activities go on in the universities. There is a lot of impetus from the Party for these activities but we Communists sometimes lag behind the students.

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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"There are peasants in the government party. But these peasants agree that the CP program of agrarian reform is better than that of their own party. This section of the government party favors the Cuban land reform. They say that they do not want to wait 25 years for land reform as the present government proposes. The CP exposes the fraudulent program of the governing party. If the CP could succeed in breaking this section of the peasantry from the government party, this would be the most important accomplishment. These peasants are the enemies of the big landlords. The government leaves the big landlords alone. There has been no division of the land but in some places, the farmers have grabbed the land. The government insists on indemnifying the landlords.

"The CP of Venezuela is beginning to work in the countryside and it raises two demands. These are:

- 1) The reduction of rent.
- 2) The division of land.

"The political outlook of the Navy in Venezuela is different from that of the Army. It seems that the Naval personnel agrees with those who favor Cuba. There was a time when the government wanted to use the Navy against the people but it could not. The officers refused. We are convinced that the Navy will help the revolution if necessary when the time comes in Venezuela.

"Now we have an acute situation in Venezuela. The influence of the Cuban Revolution is part of it. At the third congress of the trade unions, they voted support for Cuba. All of our Party institutions, all of our schools, are studying the Cuban Revolution.

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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"Recently, the CP of Argentina raised the slogan of a second front in Latin America if Cuba is invaded. There is no question or no doubt in our mind that if United States imperialism invades Cuba or attacks Cuba there will be second fronts in Venezuela and other countries and even the clergy is powerless to protect United States imperialism.

"Within the government there is a section of the military clique which cooperates with the United States Embassy. They are against Cuba but they dare not work openly against Cuba. The masses would not permit it.

"The people in Venezuela like the people of Cuba. All classes have sympathy for Cuba except a narrow clique of the rich. I would say in Venezuela, there is a passionate sympathy for the Cuban Revolution.

"At the present moment, there is a grim situation in Venezuela. The government even had to resort to mobilizing the cadets. President Romulo Betancourt will not finish his term. We are optimistic about the situation in Venezuela. The conditions are becoming ripe for great struggles. We are also keeping in mind that the mountains in our country are close to our cities. The Colombian Party has helped us at great risks even when they too were saddled with military dictatorship. Nevertheless, they helped. Right now, we have a problem of how to protect our cadres; how to husband them to save them; how some people should not appear on the public scene as what they really are. We cannot expose all of our forces at once. If we did, imperialism would act. Therefore, we say premature activities on our part would be dangerous but we are preparing ourselves and we are convinced that nothing can stop the revolution."

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DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

Remarks of Manuel  
Terrazas Guerrero

The last speaker at this session was Manuel Terrazas Guerrero, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Mexico. The essence of his remarks follows.

"The Cuban Revolution was a turning point for Latin America. It will stimulate the movement for national liberation everywhere. This is especially important for Mexico. The democratic forces in Latin America have the task to develop everywhere the idea of the real significance of the Cuban Revolution. The report of Anibal Escalante made to this meeting is of great importance and will help us. The Cuban Revolution has shown that it received help from the U.S.S.R. and the socialist camp. The example is very clear and will be understood by everyone.

"The repercussions of the Cuban Revolution are great. We are not exaggerating this sympathy. The Mexican people know very little about the Cuban Revolution and much needs to be done to popularize the Cuban Revolution in Mexico. Among the intellectuals there is a mass movement developing in favor of the Cuban Revolution. General Lazaro Cardenas issued a very important statement on the Cuban Revolution. It was timely and he did this at a crucial moment. The visit of the Cuban Rebel Army Group created the first favorable climate. It was at the time of strikes and mass movement. The visit of President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado of Cuba was also another opportunity and this visit resulted in anti-Yankee demonstrations even though these demonstrations were small. They were small because the government called for a welcome for Dorticos. For the first time, the CP members marched in the open with their own banners and were applauded by the people in the street. Even the government controlled trade unions were forced or compelled to adopt sympathetic resolutions for Cuba. Later when the demonstrations were suppressed, there was a growing public sympathy for Cuba.



DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

"The graduating class of the agricultural school of the university elected Fidel Castro as the Man of the Year while President Mateos (Adolfo Lopez Mateos) received only three votes. The Government of Mexico is resisting the inviting of Fidel Castro to Mexico. Last May, at our 13th Congress, the CP of Mexico resolved its inner Party crisis. The CP of Mexico suffered a lot of damage during the factional struggles, but even during our inner crisis, there was support for the Cuban Revolution. We issued many leaflets and other printed material explaining the significance of the Cuban Revolution. Many prominent non-Party individuals are doing excellent work for the Cuban Revolution. This movement for Cuba is made up of journalists, judges, and even some judges from the Supreme Court.

"The attitude of the government at the beginning was a negative one. Later the government could not ignore the attitude of the people and all of Latin America and it could not ignore the internal problems, and therefore, it had to change its attitude. But this is not the most important question. We know that in this government, there is a big group for Cuba. But there is also a group of reactionaries who work with United States imperialism. As in Costa Rica, some of them expected a share of the sugar quota which the United States took away from Cuba. For a time Eisenhower's visit to Mexico gave prestige to the government but now the government has been weakened and the people have been influenced by the threats and aggressive acts of the United States against Cuba. Steps are being taken to organize solidarity. There are corps of volunteers and the United States preparations in Guatemala as a springboard for aggression against Cuba have created real problems for the Mexican Government. The United States corporations are also the object of the hatred of the Mexican people. Some of the demonstrations resulted in the stoning of American buildings. On the anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, a mass movement

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECEMBER 2, 1960  
SESSION OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

developed for the sending of delegations to Cuba. We think that this year too, there will be a good opportunity to invite outstanding personalities in Mexico to Havana on the first of January. We favor the Latin American Conference for peace but the first place on the agenda should be given to the question of solidarity for Cuba. The slogan should be, no attack or aggression against Cuba."

This concluded the session of December 2, 1960.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 1/10/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau seven copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letter-head memorandum containing information concerning the organizing session of a meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America. This meeting lasted for five days and was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to Communist Party (CP) members who were in Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union. This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic) Number 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic, and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six-story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CG 5824-S\* advised that the CP, USA, did not actively participate in the meeting. The informant was the only CP, USA, representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN, and HELEN WINTER were each present on one or two occasions during the five-day meeting. Usually their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The meetings were conducted in the Spanish language, but CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No member of the CP, USA, has notes comparable to those of CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

3 - Bureau (Encl. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:lfl

(5)

57 FEB 7 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

WICK

CG 134-46-Sub B

For this reason, and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". Because of the nature of this meeting and the information obtained during the meeting which will be the subject of future memoranda, the Bureau may desire to consider changing the classification to "Top Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions in referenced Bureau letter.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer [redacted] on 1/6/61.

b6  
b7c

GALE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 10, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

THE ORGANIZING OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

Beginning on November 30, 1960, representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America held a five-day meeting in Moscow, Russia. The representatives of these Parties were in Moscow to attend the November, 1960, meeting of representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. The meeting was held in the theater of a hotel limited to Communist Party representatives who were guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is a modern six-story building located east of the Foreign Office and near the main polyclinic in Moscow.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting, but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

The Organizing of the Meeting

*Cuba / Russia*  
Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, officially opened the meeting on November 30, 1960. The following is the essence of his opening remarks.

We are gathered here to exchange opinions. We will deal chiefly with and exchange opinions on the Cuban Revolution and solidarity. Of course, other problems may come up during the course of the discussion. The following has been proposed as an agenda:

*1 Photostat  
S. Donahoe  
1/30/61  
Jark*

~~TOP SECRET~~

*1 Photostat for JCS +  
ACS / air force  
1/18/61 Jark*

*100-428091-1160*

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

THE ORGANIZING OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

1. The Cuban Revolution
2. The question of peaceful or non-peaceful transition to socialism
3. The solidarity of the trade union movement or an exchange of experiences in the trade union movement
4. The Latin American People's Congress, its nature, and the time element

*Brazil, Russia*  
Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil, said, "let us discuss our own experiences but keep in mind that we cannot impose our experiences on other Parties."

*Russia, Uruguay*  
Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, said that he disagreed with Prestes. "We really ought to recite our concrete experiences because we have present here representatives of some new Parties and some of the discussion would apply to all of the Parties. The Communist Party of Mexico just went through a terrible crisis. Few know what happened in Mexico and we would like to know."

*Mexico, Russia*  
Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico, said, "we would like to give you a picture of what happened in the Communist Party of Mexico."

Arismendi spoke again and said that if the agenda depends upon a time element, let us determine how much time each delegate can spend at this meeting. Alberti Gonzales Paulino, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, said, "we must have an agenda because I cannot see how we can discuss every subject."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

THE ORGANIZING OF A MEETING  
IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA, OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Escalante spoke again, stating "we can fix a time limit for each speaker and not all persons present and not all Parties need to speak."

The General Secretary of the Guatemala Party of Labor, whose name is not known, suggested that there should be a concrete discussion around the Cuban Revolution. "A time limit for each speaker will be opposed and will not be effective. If we do not know what topic each representative will speak about and if we let a representative of each Party speak, we will just have a hodgepodge instead of concentrating on some important problems."

*Mexico  
Russia*

Manuel Terrazas Guerrero, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico, then said, "we have a common interest. Let us exchange opinions because we do have a new situation in Latin America. Let us discuss some of these things right here. Let us discuss and resolve some tasks and plans for action. Let us discuss the most important problems. We want to explain the position of the Communist Party of Mexico and also tell you about the role of Vincente Lombardo Toledano."

It was then decided to elect an Executive Committee to conduct the meeting with each member of the Executive Committee acting at one time or another as a chairman of the meeting. Elected to this Executive Committee were Anibal Escalante, Arnolfo Verdugo, Luis Prestes, Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, and Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina.

At this time, the meeting was adjourned until 10 A.M. on December 1, 1960.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/26/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReNYairtel instant date in which Bureau was advised concerning the necessity of changing the office space for NY 694-S\*. In view of this, the matter has been discussed with NY 694-S\*, who in turn has discussed it with CG 5824-S\* and it has been mutually agreed that three different general locations in the New York area will be submitted to the Russian contact at the next meeting, which should take place 2/3/61. Once the location or alternates is agreed upon by the Russian contact, the NYO will then take immediate action to pave the way for relocating the cover company office. No effort along this line is being taken pending an agreement by the Russian contact on a satisfactory general location.

The Bureau will be kept advised of developments

ASAC-McCabe Advised by phone  
on 1-31-61 that N.Y. 69458 would  
point out the problems involved  
to Barilovsky inasmuch as agreeing  
to quickly might arouse suspicion.

- ② - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)  
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-SUB B) (RM)  
1 - NEW YORK (100-134637) (#41)

WTM: DJG  
(4)

REC-75

17 JAN 20 1961

63 FEB 8 1968

SECRET  
RECEIVED  
JAN 30 1954  
JAN 30 1954  
JAN 30 1954



FBI

Date: 1/19/61

REC-33

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following page to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/13/61. It pertains to a CPSU proposal that GUS HALL become Chairman of the New York District in addition to being General Secretary of the CP, USA.

GALE

- 1-1243 JH
- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

CC - Wick

cc - B'gardner

REC-33  
REC-22

100-428091-1163  
18 2-2  
20 JAN 21 1961

51 FEB 9 1961

H. Gale  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CPSU PROPOSAL THAT GUS HALL  
BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE  
NEW YORK DISTRICT IN ADDITION  
TO BEING GENERAL SECRETARY  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the United States and the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), as assistant to MOSTOVETS, asked MORRIS CHILDS the following question in the fall of 1960. The New York District of the CP, USA is not too good is it?

After CHILDS replied that it is not and that the problem is one of leadership, MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN said that they are still suspicious of CLARENCE HATHAWAY, Chairman of the New York District. Furthermore, HATHAWAY is an old man.

GRECHUKHIN asked, why cannot GUS HALL be the Chairman of the New York District? At one time, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV was the Secretary of the Moscow District and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

As of January 13, 1961, this information had not been relayed to GUS HALL.

FBI

REC-85

Date: 1/20/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following pages to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/13/61. It pertains to indications of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Due to the nature of the information and the manner in which it was obtained, it is not being incorporated in a letterhead memorandum.

GALE

- 1-1243 ju L
- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
(5)

EX 100

REC-85

100-428091-1164  
2-2  
16 JAN 23 1961

ENCLOSURE

cc: Wick

51 FEB 7 1961

Approved: James H. Gale  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

INDICATIONS OF  
ANTI-SEMITISM IN  
THE SOVIET UNION

During a discussion with ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA) and the United States in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), he asked MORRIS CHILDS to ask V. J. JEROME if JEROME had ever discussed the Jewish question with JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN.

When asked about this, JEROME said that there were some discussions but he followed the Party line. He denied that he had said anything about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

On Thanksgiving evening, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, JAMES JACKSON, NICKY LIMA and HELEN WINTER of the CP, USA delegation to the November meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties went to the Moscow apartment of JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN for Thanksgiving dinner. JAMES ALLEN, also a member of this CP, USA delegation, was visiting an elderly uncle who lives on Gorky Street in Moscow.

*U.S.A.  
Russia*

The PITTMANs started a discussion about and indicated they are dissatisfied with anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. They said that the youngest son of V. J. JEROME, who is a student at the University of Moscow, has stated that he saw anti-Semitic practices at the University of Moscow.

*Can't Jerome  
Russia  
U.S.A.*

The PITTMANs also stated that they have heard of cases of synagogues being burned and Jewish people being beaten recently in Russia.

JAMES JACKSON said that the PITTMANs were approaching this problem incorrectly.

*100-428091-11.1*

ENCLOSURE

Comments

Undoubtedly there have been instances of anti-Semitism in Russia, however, they may have been exaggerated. It is also a possibility that V. J. JEROME may have encouraged the PITTMANS to discuss anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

F B I

Date: 1/17/61

REC-94

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division, 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information and opinions from CG 5824-S\* indicating that Russia is conserving foreign currency. Since arrangements for financial assistance to the CP, USA from the CPSU are handled solely by CG 5824-S\*, and mention of this assistance is made in the letterhead memorandum, it has been classified "secret". The Bureau may desire to raise the classification to "top secret" if the letterhead memorandum is disseminated outside the Bureau.

CG 5824-S\* advised that in behalf of the CP, USA, he asked BORIS PONOMAREV on 12/12/60, for \$200,000 for the year 1961. PONOMAREV made no definite commitment. PONOMAREV said, we will have to see what happens. We will try to give it to you. We will have to work it out and will try to carry through.

The only other person present during this conversation was ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the United States and the CP, USA, as deputy to NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, the head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU.

The place of issue in the letterhead memorandum has been reflected as Washington, D.C., to further protect the identity of CG 5824-S\*.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/11/61 in the form of dictaphone dictabelts.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encls. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO) REC-94  
1 - Chicago

GALE

JEK:jem

(5)

1-24-61  
12 JAN 19 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 17, 1961

~~SECRET~~

INDICATIONS THAT RUSSIA  
IS CONSERVING FOREIGN CURRENCY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, and who is in a position to do so, has furnished the following information and observations.

There are indications that Russia is being a little more economical in regard to financial matters, particularly when foreign currency is involved. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) promised financial support to the Communist Party (CP), USA, during the year 1961, but did not make a commitment for the entire year. Boris Ponomarev, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU), stated in December, 1960, that this matter could be discussed again in September, 1961, if the CP, USA felt that it was short of funds at that time. *RUSSIA*  
*CP OF RUSSIA*

Financial matters were discussed in a manner different than that in which they have been discussed in the past. The need for economy was stressed. Ponomarev also said that there is a need for the CP, USA to establish its own source of funds while at the same time saying that the CPSU would not neglect the CP, USA, when it is in financial trouble. He said, just let us know and we will see to it that you get money faster than you have gotten it in the past.

A member of the CP, USA delegation to the November meeting of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties asked if it would be possible to receive in the United States, the "Daily Review of Soviet Press", published by the Soviet Information Bureau in Moscow. This delegate was told that such a subscription would cost a few hundred dollars and since "The Worker" receives a copy of the "Daily Review of Soviet Press", the CPSU would not authorize an individual subscription for this delegate.

~~SECRET~~

100-428091-1165  
ENCLOSURE

INDICATIONS THAT  
RUSSIA IS CON-  
SERVING FOREIGN  
CURRENCY

~~SECRET~~

It was also noted that the CPSU did not expend money for gifts, clothing, etc., for the delegates to the November meeting as lavishly as has been done in the past. In the case of one delegate from the CP, USA, an effort was made to locate a coat that had been made for the delegate on a previous trip and left in Moscow, instead of providing the delegate with a new coat. Even the amount of rubles allotted to the delegates for miscellaneous expenses and for the purchase of souvenirs while in Moscow was conservative by previous standards. The need to help people in the more backward countries was emphasized.

There was another indication that financial matters are being handled differently than in the past. The CP, USA was advised that when it sends a Party member to Russia and the member is not able to provide for his own transportation, the CP, USA should purchase in the United States, a ticket for transportation only as far as Prague, Czechoslovakia, or a city in a Communist country bordering Western Europe. No return ticket should be purchased in the United States. Thus, the CPSU will use the monetary exchange of Russia or another Communist country for the travel fare inside those countries and will use some reciprocal arrangement with airlines of non-Communist countries for the return fare to the United States and thus will avoid the expenditure of foreign currency.

In regard to the CP of Puerto Rico, Ponomarev said that if the CP, USA wants to give financial assistance to that Party and if it is necessary, the CP, USA should try to do it out of funds which it raises or receives.

From the above, it seems obvious that the Russians are accumulating a reserve of foreign currency or a gold reserve to be used as part of the struggle against the West, particularly against the United States.

~~SECRET~~



INDICATIONS THAT  
RUSSIA IS CON-  
SERVING FOREIGN  
CURRENCY

~~SECRET~~

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper, published in New York City.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 1/16/61

REC-21

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning a briefing of CG 5824-S\* on the current situation in the CP of Brazil and in Brazil by LUIS CARLOS PRESTES, General Secretary of the CP of Brazil. This briefing took place in the suite of PRESTES in a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow, Russia, as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic) No. 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern 6 story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests. The meeting took place on 12/7/60, and the only other person present was JOAKIM RAMARA FERREIRA, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Brazil.

For the above reasons and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". Because of the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, it is suggested that the Bureau consider changing the classification to "~~Top Secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to ~~JOHN E. KEATING~~ and RICHARD W. HANSEN in the form of 2 dictaphone dictabelts on 1/10/61.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago (100-134637)  
JEK:Plb

GALE

(5)

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 FEB 10 1961

18 FEB 8 1961

State, CIA, ANI, OSI, G2  
ACSI (AP), JCS  
1 end  
JUL 1961



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
January 16, 1961

100-428091

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

BRIEFING OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ON THE CURRENT  
SITUATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
BRAZIL AND IN BRAZIL BY LUIS CARLOS  
PRESTES, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

The Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On December 7, 1960, there was a special meeting in Moscow, Russia, between a representative of the CP, USA, and Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CP of Brazil. The only other person present at this special meeting was Joakim Ramara Ferreira, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Brazil.

This meeting was held in the suite of Prestes in a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCPSU) for the November, 1960, meeting of the representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. This hotel is located near the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six story building.

The purpose of this special meeting was to permit Prestes to brief the CP, USA, on recent developments in the CP of Brazil and in Brazil and to establish closer contact between the CP, USA, and the CP of Brazil.

1 photostat  
S. Dana lwc

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-1166

ENCLOSURE

1 Photostat  
11 ACS/GAE  
11/21/61  
JWB

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

BRIEFING OF A REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL  
AND IN BRAZIL BY LUIS CARLOS  
PRESTES, GENERAL SECRETARY OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

Luis Carlos Prestes is undoubtedly the best known Communist personality in all of Latin America. In Communist circles, as well as other circles in Brazil, he is known as the Brazilian Knight because of his long history of struggle. At one time he was an officer in the Brazilian Army but he has been a Communist for many decades.

The following is the essence of his remarks.

"In Brazil, the law still says that it is a crime to organize a Communist Party but de facto the Party continues to work. The leaders of the Party continue to work but when they speak in public they do not talk in the name of the Party. They say, we of the Communists. Even when I speak, I use the same terminology and do not say that I speak for the Communist Party. When we printed the resolution from our recently held Party Congress, we printed it as a draft of Communists and not in the name of the Communist Party.

"We do have a national office in Brazil. It is the Communist Party office but it is not called the national office. It is called the office of Carlos Prestes. We publish a magazine, which is actually an organ of the Communist Party, but it is not designated as such. The title of the magazine is 'Novous Rumos', meaning new direction. It is published in the office of the editor, who is Mallegaro. Mallegaro attended the 21st Congress of the CPSU.

"In regard to elections in Brazil, the law prohibits Communist Party candidates. Therefore, we register Communist Party candidates in bourgeois parties, chiefly in the Labor Party. It is mainly in this party, which is led by Joao Goulart, the Vice-President of Brazil, that the Communists find refuge and continue their work. We work in other parties too and even have some deputies in Parliament. Since the deputies in

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BRIEFING OF A REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL  
AND IN BRAZIL BY LUIS CARLOS  
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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL.

Parliament have offices, we utilize their offices in order to get around the law which prohibits the organization of a Communist Party.

"The Brazilian Communists have a great influence amongst the trade unions. We control many trade unions and student bodies. We have great influence amongst the public and government employees and have developed a great influence among the army officers in Brazil.

"You might ask how the Communist Party can play such a role. In Brazil at the present time, there is what might be called an equilibrium of forces. All of the main parties are equal. For this reason, the Brazilian Communist Party, with its influence, can tip the scale for one side or the other. Therefore, this Party cannot be ignored. On the one side there are the reactionaries, the landlords. On the other side are the workers, the petty bourgeoisie, even the big section of the patriotic bourgeoisie, the students and the peasants. At this stage of development in Brazil, the reactionaries cannot impose their rule. But the progressive forces cannot impose their program or rule either. But the international situation, the complications that face the United States the world over, makes things favorable for a change in Brazil, naturally in favor of the Communists.

"The elections took place from the third of October to the tenth of November. These elections were very important. Since then, one million workers have participated in strikes. Involved in these strikes were the railroad workers, cement workers, dock workers, metal workers, etc. All these strikes have ended in victories for the strikers. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, some officers and sergeants in the armed services were arrested because they wanted higher pay and because they protested against the low pay. This indicates that the discontent has penetrated every segment of the population.

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OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
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"The economic and financial situation in Brazil is very difficult. Inflation is one of the most pressing problems. Now you can buy or get 200 cruzeiros for the dollar. In 1956, when Juscelino Kubitschek was first elected, you could get 18 cruzeiros for the dollar. The problems in Brazil demand radical measures against imperialism because the profits in Brazil leave the country and go to the United States monopolies. Therefore, there is a very serious deficit. There is a deficit not only in running the government but a deficit in the balance of payments which continues to aggravate the economic and social crises.

"3.08 per cent of the landowners own 70 per cent of all the land in Brazil. Out of 65 million estimated population in Brazil, 68 per cent are peasants. Thirteen to fourteen million peasants are landless. Because of this, there is always a big migration from the north to the south and this migration increases when there are natural calamities such as recently when there was a drought. Therefore, the big problem in Brazil is that of land reform. The fight for the land is the chief issue.

"The labor movement is growing too, but it is necessary to know that the labor and trade union movement is linked to the Labor Ministry in Brazil. The trade unions are fighting for independence from government control and for the establishment of a Trade Union Center which they have, in fact, established. We have in Brazil what are called Vertical Trade Union Confederations, such as metal, transport, and others, but no real national center of the trade unions. In each state they do hold trade union congresses and they act as permanent centers. But last August for the first time a National Congress of Trade Unions was called. 2,500 responded. These came chiefly from various state organizations although some Vertical Trade Unions were represented too. Nine national organizations called this Trade Union Congress. Six out of this nine are under Communist influence. Three are anti-Communist but they did attend this Trade Union Congress. This Congress elected an executive.

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They set up a permanent organization in the form of a national committee. Actually, this Trade Union Center is a united front of the Communists and the Labor Party but it also includes some reactionaries. Some of these reactionaries are in this Trade Union Center to try to sabotage its functions but they are kept going by the pressure of the workers. They do not dare to desert and they have to be careful as to how they engage in reactionary pressures. This Congress was the first step for a real, genuine Trade Union Center or Confederation in Brazil.

"A big effort is being made by the Communists and others to try to change the law to permit the organization of a Trade Union Center. This law is a hang-over from the old Getulio Vargas regime. Also, international affiliation is not permitted in Brazil. Therefore, the trade unions are not affiliated formally to any international organization. But the law does permit international affiliation to the Inter-American Workers Regional Organization. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is active in this organization. This organization is called ORIT.

"When Brazilian trade union delegates go to meetings of ORIT they are pledged to a program and they always raise the question of unity and they sometimes raise the question of working with the World Federation of Trade Unions or affiliating with it. At this last August Brazilian Trade Union Congress they said that they will continue to go to meetings of ORIT but that they will also go to meetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The World Federation of Trade Unions had fraternal delegates at this Brazilian Trade Union Congress that I have referred to. Because of such representation on the part of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the representatives from ORIT walked out of the Congress. The United States Embassy representation at this Trade Union Congress also walked out and there were attacks against labor in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo because of this Congress.

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"United States imperialism is conducting a fight against the trade union movement in Brazil. For example, most trade union contracts, and if there are no contracts it is the understanding, provide for 15 legal holidays during the year. The United States monopolies are trying to do away with this law. Naturally the United States industrialists are not very popular because of this. There is also a law in Brazil which says that no one can be fired, if he has worked in some establishment for ten years, without severance pay that amounts to at least 20 months wages. If you have worked for 15 years, you get 30 months severance pay. The United States imperialists are fighting even this particular law and are trying to change it. This is an old concession given by Vargas to the working people.

"Vargas, at one time before his death, threatened nationalization of the utilities and oil industries. Oil is the big problem in Brazil. It is a state monopoly. No concessions have been given and it is forbidden by law to give concessions in oil. Brazil has to import two-thirds of its oil from abroad. It spends 300 million dollars a year for oil and most of it goes to the big Rockefeller interests. These oil monopolies of the United States refuse to help Brazil to prospect for oil although we know there is oil in Brazil. They refuse to sell us refining machinery. At the present time, despite all these difficulties, most of the oil is refined in Brazil.

"Many of the governors in the various states of Brazil have been elected with the open support of the Communists. This is true in Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Norte, Para, Santa Catarina, and Goias. Despite this influence of the Party, the Party is still, on the statute books, illegal. However, the relations, especially with Goulart, are very good. Not all the politicians are labor politicians or depend on labor.

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Kubitschek is a social democrat and belongs to the Social Democratic Party. Actually the name means nothing because the big landlords control it. But, even in this Party of Kubitschek, the Social Democratic Party, there is a large section of the patriotic bourgeoisie which is anti-imperialist, against the United States, for protection of the natural resources, and for independence in general.

"In the October, 1960 election, the Communists supported candidate Henrique Lott. He was the Minister of War for Kubitschek, the outgoing President. Lott was defeated for President. Quadros, the successful candidate, received five and one-half million votes. Lott got just a little over four million votes. But these four million votes were of a certain quality. It was very difficult to get support for Lott. But since Lott was the candidate for the nationalist forces and Quadros was considered the candidate of the United States monopolies, he was looked upon as a Brazilian Frondizi. Although Quadros traveled to Moscow and to Havana, he did this to get votes and he made many promises. Some people thought he may be a Brazilian Fidel but I can tell you, that this is not so. The votes for Lott were very conscious, anti-imperialist votes. In 1945, the Party had a candidate but he did not run in the name of the Communist Party. But this year, because of broader support and because of a growing national anti-United States consciousness, Lott was able to draw four million votes.

"There are 300 deputies in the Brazilian Parliament. One hundred and thirty of these can definitely be said to be nationalists and take an anti-imperialist position. Pressures are now developing to change the government policies; to begin with to change the foreign policy of the Brazilian government; also to change its personnel. There is a big base for this movement. Broad united fronts are developing all over Brazil, made up of workers, peasants, patriots, army officers and others.

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"There was a period not long ago when some sections wanted to suspend the Constitution. A big movement developed among the army officers, the deputies, and amongst the working class and they stopped this effort to suspend the Constitution. If the reactionaries would have suspended the Constitution, they would have been faced with an open social upheaval in Brazil and no one knows where this would have led. It might have led in the same direction as in Cuba although our circumstances are different. We Communists in Brazil are still fighting to utilize every legal possibility, every Parliamentary activity, and, as you know from previous reports and discussions we have had, we succeeded in defeating our leftists in the Party. We, of course, cleaned out the revisionists. Although some of the leftists are still in our Central Committee, they have very little influence and power. As far as the prospects for the Party are concerned, we consider them bright and we would like to have better connections with you in the United States. We should keep each other informed. We should see that we exchange our newspapers and magazines more regularly. Of course, if there are documents of importance that you think we ought to read, some policies that we should know about, please see to it that we receive them. We will do the same. We also want to invite the American Party to send someone to Brazil to study our situation, to talk to us. You will be welcome. You especially will be welcome if you have the opportunity to come to Brazil. The reason we say send someone is because at the present time we know that your reactionary bourgeoisie would not permit a well known leading Communist to come from your country.

"We want to thank you for the cooperation in the drawing up of this draft declaration of the 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. I know that you worked very closely with our previous representative on the Editorial Commission, Mario Alves."

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from  
dissemination*

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BRIEFING OF A REPRESENTATIVE  
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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

This concludes the briefing by Luis Carlos Prestes.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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UNITED STATES

## Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: January 31, 1961

FROM : MR. J. A. SIZOO

1-Mr. Belmont  
 1-Mr. Baumgardner  
 1-Mr. J. D. Donohue  
 1-Mr. Fox

SUBJECT: NY 694-S\*

SOLO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
*Mr. Evans*  
*Barry*

ASAC McCabe, New York Office (NYO), called yesterday (1/30/61), making reference to recent instructions which NY 694-S\* had received from Barkovsky concerning the use of a rented car during his next meeting with Barkovsky. McCabe advised that the manager of a reliable automobile rental agency has in the past been used as a source and, in fact, 694 has rented cars from this agency. Through this contact, NY can obtain a car tomorrow (Wednesday, 2/1) and install a concealed automobile transmitter (CAT), which car will later be made available to 694. This can be done without disclosing to the manager of the agency exactly what the Bureau contemplates doing, and 694 will then have an automobile with a transmitter, but will have no knowledge himself that such transmitter is in the car. NY asked for authority to obtain the car Wednesday (2/1) and make the installation. The car is to be used by the informant on Friday (2/3).

## ACTION:

I authorized NY to make the installation as requested, with the understanding that this could be done discreetly and so secretly that no inspection by Barkovsky could possibly detect the presence of the transmitter.

JAS:LL  
 (5)

REC-14

100-428091-1167

EX 100

25 FEB 8 1961

file 100-428091  
 5-7

2/1/61  
 McCabe advised to  
 find up installation until  
 after first meeting with  
 Barkovsky.  
 51 FEB 9 1961

FBI

Date: 1/16/61

REC-31

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau 7 copies and to the New York Division one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the 12/3/60, session of a meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America. This meeting lasted 5 days and was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic) No. 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern 6 story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he was the only CP, USA, representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN, and HELEN WINTER were each present on 1 or 2 occasions during the 5 day meeting. Usually their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The sessions were conducted in the Spanish language; however, CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No member of the CP, USA, has notes comparable to those of CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

For the above reasons and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~". Because of

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encls. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:Plb

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51 FEB 8 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG-134-46 Sub. B

the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, the Bureau may desire to consider changing the classification to "Top Secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D. C., in accordance with instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter. The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN and Stenographer PATRICIA L. BEBAK on 1/6/61.

GALE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
January 16, 1961

100-428091

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION OF  
A MEETING IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA,  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN  
LATIN AMERICA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information.

On December 3, 1960, representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America met for the fourth day of a five day meeting in Moscow, Russia. The representatives of these Parties were in Moscow to attend the November, 1960, meeting of representatives of 81 Communist Parties and Workers' Parties. This meeting of representatives from Communist Parties in Latin America was held in the theater of the hotel limited to Communist Party (CP) members who were guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located near the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six story building.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

Remarks of the Representative  
of the Peoples' Unity Party of Haiti

B. APPROX.

1928 05 1926

The session of December 3, 1960, began with remarks by a representative of the Peoples' Unity Party of Haiti. His identity is not known, however, he was referred to as Alexis. He is described as follows: Race, Negro; Age, 33 to 35; Height, 6'; Weight, 170 to 175. He is an excellent chess player, speaks several languages, including English, and is very talkative. The following is the essence of his remarks:

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S. Donahoe  
1/26/61  
Jaw

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ENCLOSURE

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Photostat JCS  
ACSI (CAF)  
1/24/61  
Jaw

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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"Many peasants and others have migrated from Haiti to Cuba. There is tremendous enthusiasm in Haiti for the Cuban Revolution. The relations between Cuba and Haiti have always been good. The Haitian peasants have an anti-feudal tradition. They also have an old anti-slave tradition. Even in the old, old days, they used the slogan, the land belongs to those who till it. In 1830, there was a big struggle in Haiti and a primitive commune was established. Already in 1905 there was a big struggle for land reform in Haiti. In the 1930s, the dictatorship of the feudal land owners was used against not only the peasants but even the merchants and the intellectuals. The peasants have an anti-feudal movement; the merchants have an anti-feudal movement. But because of segregation and color, these movements never merged. Now there are some Negro land owners. However, the present Negro bourgeoisie is mulatto and the land owners are using color discrimination to keep their grip on everything. I want to emphasize that the mulattoes are the rich in Haiti. The Negroes are the very poor. There is a long history of resistance dating back to 1830. This is why I speak about this problem.

"In 1954, we reorganized our Party which was in bad shape because it suffered from Browderism. We reorganized when we understood the peasant problem. Our Party was really born in 1939, and our first leader was Jaquisimo (phonetic).

"There are four and one-half million people in Haiti. The total income of the country is so small that the government has to get money from United States imperialism to pay the government functionaries. The rulers of the country did not even bother to organize their economy. It is against their class interests. Our Party was divided into a left and right wing and we did not raise the question of anti-imperialism. The lefts would shout that all we need to talk about is freedom and socialism. Yet in a city like Port-au-Prince with a population of 300,000, we were able to organize an anti-imperialist demonstration involving 60,000 people. The Party has influence in the cities but not amongst the peasants.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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"The CP leaders originally were petty bourgeoisie. They were responsible for splitting the united front. But we do have some relations between the workers and the middle class. It is only now in the recent period that the Party has started work among the peasantry and there is a movement underway. We know that in Haiti a mass movement without the peasantry is impossible. Up until now, the commercial bourgeoisie has been passive. They are beginning to see that the peasant movement has anti-imperialist perspectives and this has caused them to be less passive.

"The Cuban Revolution helps. The Cuban Ambassador helped to give arms to the landlords. This Ambassador married a Haitian woman. Later, this same Ambassador helped to train people in the use of arms in Barbados. We explained to the people why the Cuban Revolution won. It was not due only to the use of arms but also to work amongst the people. We had to convince the people that terrorism alone could not win. The Cuban Ambassador Rodriguez is not bad but he could have been better.

"We have a terror regime in Haiti now. They are even burning down the houses of the opposition and of the peasantry. Big concentration camps have been established but the opposition is organizing abroad and is receiving inspiration from the Cuban Revolution. Even the national bourgeoisie is bankrupt and even they are worse off under the present regime. They would like to get some help from the socialist camp. One-half of the population of Haiti is unemployed. I am not exaggerating when I say that last year 100,000 people died from malnutrition or starvation. The peasants go into the islands hunting for food. The Party can influence a change under the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist slogans. But the Party needs to learn more about the Cuban Revolution. The students, in an overwhelming majority, are for the Cuban Revolution. The students are against United States imperialism and United States business in Haiti and Latin America. The support of the students for the Cuban Revolution is more than formal. There are other strata of the population, including some businessmen, who see no other way

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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out without the help of other sections of the population, particularly the workers. They see an example in the Cuban Revolution. The peasantry especially sees this. All the Christian organizations in Haiti follow the line of our Party. Even the Bishop of Port-au-Prince sends money to the Party. Many of the military staff have sent money to the Party. Some officers were removed because of their sympathies. Revolution for Haiti is a matter of life or death and every day brings us closer to it. The Haitian Communists bring it closer. The Cuban Revolution brings us closer to our own revolution.

"There are in Haiti, small groups which call themselves Communist Marxists-Leninists but they are either rights or lefts. These groups have about 300 members. They are opposed to the line of the People's Unity Party which is the real Marxist-Leninist party. Some of these who oppose us are agents of the government, *Haiti* Some of them are fine people. But there is one Gallante (phonetic) who is a spy for the United States imperialists. He is a friend of DePreste (phonetic) who lives in Cuba. DePreste is a member of the CP but during the Hungarian events, he was against the U.S.S.R. When he came to Haiti, he visited President Francois Duvalier, a tyrant who killed 2,000 people. DePreste may be honest but mistaken. We want to inform you that he carries a credential from the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. He uses it. We think the Cuban comrade should know about this.

"There are other individuals amongst the students, even some who have been accepted in the University of the Friendship of the Peoples in Moscow, who we are convinced are agents of the government or United States imperialism. We should look into this.

"There are 50,000 Party members in Haiti with a great influence. Everyday 100 to 200 people who are against the regime ask to join the Party. There is only one organized Party in Haiti and that is the People's Unity Party. There is a newspaper in New York called the 'Herald Tribune' which wrote about this situation one time and showed the power and influence of the People's Unity Party.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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"Our problem is how to take power. The rulers have learned from Cuba and will prevent us from taking power. We therefore need different methods than were used in Cuba. We are working in the armed forces too. A new revolution in Haiti will be a solidarity answer and a solidarity action for Cuba. All Communist printing establishments have been destroyed by Duvalier but we are working just the same. Finally, I promise that we will send volunteers to Cuba".

Remarks of Enrike Hilbert Hill

Enrike Hilbert Hill, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Ecuador, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"Before the Batista regime was overthrown, there were many Cuban exiles living in Ecuador. This is why a lot of sympathy for Cuba had developed in Ecuador. The Labor Federation in Ecuador supports the Cuban Revolution and the trade unions will, if necessary, send volunteers to fight in Cuba. The Trade Union Federation has also endorsed the Havana Declaration. The Cuban Revolution has had a great influence upon the peasantry, especially in the coastal area. In many provinces, the peasants are just taking the land. Amongst the students, there is a big movement for the defense of the Cuban Revolution. The national organization of youth is composed of youth of many different parties. There is a widespread anti-United States imperialist sentiment in Ecuador and only recently the United States flag was burned and the Consulate has been stoned.

"The present President of Ecuador has only recently raised some old border problems with Peru. This has been done as a diversion to try to draw attention away from the Cuban Revolution and Yankee imperialism. But when meetings are called they always end up with the slogan, Yankee No, Cuba Si.

"The Cuban Ambassador in Ecuador is no good. He works with the United States and the Canadian Legations.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

"Last October we had a big demonstration celebrating independence and we linked this to Cuban solidarity. Last year, the students were massacred and they could not hold their celebration. The President of Ecuador arrived in Quito, Ecuador, at the same time as the Cuban Ambassador. The demonstration for the Cuban was just as big, if not bigger, than that for the President. In the last election we had a broad united front. This united front was for the Cuban Revolution and it forced the opposition to talk about the Cuban Revolution in order to retain mass support.

"Our Party paper, the weekly 'El Pueblo', systematically calls for the support of the Cuban Revolution. The magazine 'Manana' also stresses independence for the Cuban Revolution. 'El Hora' in the provinces is for Cuba and speaks for the students and others. On the radio too, the united front has a trade union hour and in their broadcasts something is usually said for the Cuban Revolution.

"There are many people in Ecuador who are trying to get to Cuba. Some even walk to other countries trying to find their way to Cuba. In any case, many people want to get to Cuba.

"I want to remind the comrades present here not to forget the Inter-American Conference. Originally we scheduled it for 1959, then we talked of 1960, now we hear talk of March, 1961, in Quito. The imperialists want to do in Quito what they did in Caracas. They want to organize against Cuba. They want to use this Inter-American Conference against the revolution.

"Before I conclude, I want to say that it is necessary that we engage in more self-criticism because if everything we do for solidarity with Cuba is good, then what are we talking about here? Finally, Fidel is very popular in Ecuador. We believe he could even be elected President in Ecuador, as he might be in some other Latin American countries. There are two popular words in Latin America and these are Fidel and sputnik.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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Just as El Faro (phonetic) helped Jose Marti, by this historical analogy, we will help Fidel".

Remarks of Luis Carlos Prestes

The next speaker was Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CP of Brazil. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"We agree with Anibal Escalante of the People's Socialist Party on the international importance of the Cuban Revolution. It also has some great significance in our national situation. We consider it our duty to study the Cuban Revolution. We have just gotten through a very hard fight against revisionism and dogmatism in the CP of Brazil. Life is richer than theory and the Cuban Revolution is proof of that.

"In Brazil too, we will have to learn how to fight the Plattists. We are, therefore, receiving inspiration and learning lessons on how a united front can fight and defeat a dictatorship. In Brazil, some CP members consider that the united front should be made up only of the left and must be guided only by the CP. We will clear this question up with the example of Cuba. In Cuba, the Party fought against dictatorship and for a new regime. In Brazil, some Communists still think that we need to fight for a people's democracy. The example of Cuba proved that we can start with a new government and gradually move to socialism.

"This example of the Cuban Revolution has helped us fight our dogmatists and sectarians. This problem was resolved at the last Party congress where we adopted a program that can be summarized as follows:

1. For land reform.
2. Against imperialism.
3. For national independence.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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"We need to take certain steps to first of all get the support of the working class and next to receive international support.

"The Cuban Revolution will continue to have great influence amongst the working class, the peasants, and especially the students. Now, even amongst the industrialists and certain sections of the armed forces, the Cuban Revolution has great influence in Brazil. At the beginning, the national bourgeoisie was for the Cuban Revolution. Now they are against Fidel and the Cuban Revolution. Now the Brazilian press is against the Cuban Revolution. Only the Party press is unreservedly for Cuba.

"Janio Quadros, who was just elected President, was in Havana and he talked in favor of Cuba but he never participated in a meeting for Cuba in Brazil. Now he is against Cuba and is a sponsor of the Organization of American States (OAS). Yet we could say that his majority of two million votes was due to the Cuban partisans. In the working class, it is just the reverse. Everyday there is more admiration for the Cuban Revolution. This is true from the north to the south in the entire country. There is always great applause and enthusiasm when the Cuban Revolution is mentioned. First we deal with domestic problems but when we use the Cuban example as our example, we are met with great enthusiasm.

"The student movement is united and this movement used a lot of initiative for the Cuban Revolution. When Eisenhower was in Brazil, he was confronted with a big photograph of Fidel which had a caption, we like Fidel. Fidel was elected the honorary president of the law students. Kubitschek, who was the President of Brazil, was on the ticket of the law students opposite Fidel for honorary president but Fidel won amongst the students.

"The third National Trade Union Congress adopted a resolution against intervening in Cuba and during the election campaign, there were parades and demonstrations in which the

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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participants carried pictures of Fidel and slogans for Cuba. Many people have gone to Cuba. Henrique Lott, the other candidate for President of Brazil, was against Cuba and talked of Fidel as a murderer.

"The fifth Congress of the CP of Brazil stressed the importance of the Cuban Revolution and the mobilization of the masses for the nationalization of the banks and power companies and also raised the question of high rents and the cost of living. When we talk of these things we use the Cuban example. Since Cuba has established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and China, we have posed this question in Brazil too. The last plenum of our Party placed the fight against intervention in Cuba as one of the most important tasks. We concluded that it would be a terrific blow if the Cuban Revolution was even temporarily defeated. We must and we have the possibility to stop intervention.

"United States imperialism will be confronted with many wars when aggression against Cuba takes place. The Cuban resistance will give us time. If the United States knows this it will not dare to act. We believe that the United States knows this and for this reason hesitates. We must strengthen the powerful movement against United States imperialism and for Cuba. When the OAS met the United States thought it could use the Latin American countries for intervention. We know that there were even secret military plans prepared in case OAS agreed. But some Latin American governments cautioned the United States to be careful in dealing with the Cuban question. We in Brazil do have some difficulties but if the United States attacks Cuba we are sure that there will be a wide struggle; struggles wider than at the time when Vargas was assassinated. Anti-United States feeling is strong in Brazil but it must be broadened. It must be a movement of many millions.

"Our errors during the years 1955 to 1958 have diminished our influence. Fifty per cent of the population of Brazil is illiterate. Our propaganda became weakened. We had some financial problems. The cost of living is high. The government is compelled

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

to raise wages because of inflation. In one year's time, the peseta fell from 7 to 21 for each dollar. But we are overcoming our difficulties.

"I want to inform the comrades that the articles of Jean-Paul Sartre on Cuba were published in the Brazilian press and reach many, many people. There is a Friends of Cuba organization in Brazil which is led by members of Parliament. There is currently a campaign for solidarity and signatures are being collected for endorsement of the Havana Declaration. Now we are conducting more concrete campaigns. We are raising money and buying tractors which we send to Cuba. We are carrying out a big campaign for trade with Cuba. Where does Joao Goulart stand? Well at this time he is neutral.

"Now I want to ask the comrades to send us more Cuban films on subjects dealing with current developments. My final word is this, the CP of Brazil considers the Cuban Revolution its own revolution."

Remarks of the General  
Secretary of the CP of Paraguay

The next speaker was the General Secretary of the CP of Paraguay whose identity is not known. He is described as follows: Race, White; Age, 52 to 54; Height, 5'7"; Weight, 145; Eyes, Blue; Complexion, Light; Hair, Gray. He speaks some English and does not reside in Paraguay at this time. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"In Paraguay we are working under very difficult conditions under a brutal dictatorship. Even leaflet distribution means death if you are caught. But we work anyway. We have covered Paraguay with slogans such as, hands off Cuba. We use the slogan, Yankee No, Cuba Si. We have even managed to paint slogans on the walls of the anti-Cuba newspapers. Our line stresses the united front for the defense of Cuba and we relate this to concrete demands in Paraguay. Even the question

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

of bus fares is related to the revolution in Cuba because the utilities are in the hands of the imperialists. There are meetings taking place in the university but when the Police find out about them they dissolve these meetings and arrest some of the participants. Despite these reprisal measures, the Cuban Revolution is an inspiration.

"If there is an attack against Cuba, the people will use this situation to rise against the Stroessner Dictatorship. We are showing up the role of United States imperialism. We are constantly exposing it. The Cuban Revolution has convinced the people of Paraguay that this is the road; that they can defeat United States imperialism; adopt reforms for the land, industry, etc., and ease their burdens. Our work is hard, and I repeat, sometimes limited, but there are some things that we can do. You should know that all forms of organization are prohibited in Paraguay but we have managed to organize underground committees for the defense of Cuba.

"Right now there is a guerrilla war going on against the Dictatorship. This war is spreading. But here is how we place the tasks. The first task of importance is the defense of Cuba. Never in history did we have such an important task in Latin America. We must prevent an attack on Cuba. The imperialists will try to use some Latin American countries, at least five that I can think of, for this attack against Cuba. Therefore, we have to: 1) increase our propaganda; 2) increase our actual aid.

"I would say that Cuba is now the national problem for all of Latin America.

"All Communist Parties now have to decide which road to take to socialism. The democratic revolution in Paraguay has begun. This present Dictatorship Regime cannot put down the guerrilla movement. It will not be able to avoid a nation-wide insurrection. In the army too, there is some dissatisfaction. I would even say that the Dictatorship has helped us by emphasizing that there are two ways; the Cuban.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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way or the other way, which is, of course, the Stroessner way. This has divided the upper classes. We have a movement in Paraguay called the 14th of May movement. It is similar to the July 26th movement in Cuba. Although relatively new, it is a united front for national liberation. The big bourgeoisie has deserted the united front and has deserted the 14th of May movement. But the left of the petty bourgeoisie picked up the banner. The opposition is divided.

"Some say let us use the Colombian way, a bi-party administration. Others say, let us use the Cuban way. There are those who say they favor guerrilla war with outside support. We favor a base amongst the people, particularly the peasants. We are for the united front but it is not a signed or formal united front. We place our stress on the mass movement and the development of this movement. We are for a new government, a government that will be democratic and will also establish relations with Cuba. We do not ask for a government exactly like Cuba's but we orient the masses in the direction of the Cuban way.

"This policy which I outlined is important for us because there are Putschist tendencies and it would be bad if these Putschist tendencies would prevail just as it would be bad if the tendencies for compromise with dictatorship would prevail. Therefore, we ask for democratization and in this way to break up the military apparatus and the dictatorship.

"We cannot duplicate Cuba but we can show results and in the end the results may be the same as in Cuba. But we have to be careful how we place these problems because there are sections in the population which are scared of expropriation and we cannot drive these people away. When we place these problems, we must not place them in a defensive way. We even have to show how the bourgeoisie has betrayed our country. They did not merely turn their back on their country but betrayed it.

"The Cuban Revolution is now correcting leftism. This helps us. We of the CP of Paraguay say that the Cuban

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Revolution opened up a new stage of revolution in Latin America with the working class playing the chief role. But we must put the emphasis on independence, economic and political independence."

Remarks of James Jackson

The next speaker was James Jackson, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). Jackson was not a participant in this meeting but did attend the meeting on one or two occasions for a few minutes. He was asked to make a few remarks and the following is the essence of his remarks:

N.Y.

"During the meeting of the 15th Assembly of the United Nations, we distributed 30,000 copies of the Havana Declaration. The CP, USA, dug up pamphlets on Cuba and sold every pamphlet. We could have sold more. There was a lot of sympathy for Fidel Castro in Harlem. He aroused the Negro people especially. There was great interest when the head of the military forces of Cuba, a Negro, stayed at the same hotel with Fidel Castro in Harlem.

"There is a growing movement of sympathy for Cuba in the United States. Not all the American population is for the imperialists. There are progressives and others who have sympathies we share. We will not fail in our duty to the Cuban Revolution".

Expression of Thanks to CP, USA,  
by Rudolfo Ghioldi.

Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina, as Chairman of this session, expressed thanks and greetings to the CP, USA, on behalf of the leadership of the Communist Parties in Latin America. The following is the essence of his remarks:

Argentina

"I want to remind the CP, USA, that I know the old time leaders in the CP, USA, such as William Z. Foster, Eugene

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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Dennis, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and desire that my best wishes be extended to them. The Communist Parties in Latin America know that the members of the CP, USA, are working under difficult conditions but are applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation. We are in a common fight against a common enemy and are giving support to the Cuban Revolution. This cannot be done without your support and solidarity so we thank you, our dear fraternal comrades of the CP, USA. In our fight against Yankee monopolies, we are at the same time, fighting for the people of the United States."

The CP, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Remarks of Jorge Kalle

Jorge Kalle, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Bolivia, was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"Until last year, we were disconnected from Cuba. The people were doubtful about Cuba. They did not believe that the Cubans really accomplished something because our own revolution slowed down. Cuba went through the most thorough revolutionary transformation in all of Latin America. The Vice President of Bolivia said that perhaps we ought to engage in blackmailing United States imperialism in order to get something from the United States. The people are mobilized for the Cuban Revolution. Every trade union has endorsed the Havana Declaration. The Cuban Ambassador is the honored guest at every gathering of workers and peasants. Amongst the workers, there is a conscious solidarity with Cuba. The peasants and the petty bourgeoisie are all becoming more conscious and the students are very active in the vanguard of this movement. The students are radical and conscious and work for the Cuban Revolution.

"Until last year, the Party was very sectarian. But the Cuban Revolution proved the need and the possibility for mass and broad contacts and now the Party has mass support. The youth has been exposing the government party and its treason

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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to our revolution. Every member of Parliament belonging to the government party votes sometimes with the CP and meets with members of the Central Committee of our Party to get advice on policy. The Confederation of Labor has signed a pact, a mutual aid pact, with the Cuban CP in case of United States aggression. Maybe I seem optimistic about the problem of Cuban solidarity in Bolivia, but what I am telling you is a fact.

"The United States Ambassador has been stoned in Cochabamba. I do not know of any trade union or any mass organization where the United States Ambassador could be invited or allowed to speak. But the Cuban Ambassador is invited everywhere and sometimes even gets involved in the internal affairs of Bolivia although he should not do this. The Cuban Ambassador can go places where even our government leaders dare not appear.

"In many places in Bolivia, the trade union workers are armed and form their own militia. In some places, the government tried to control the trade unions and place their own stooges in the leading positions. The trade unions elected their own people. When the government threatened not to abide by the decisions of the workers, the workers appealed to the miners who are armed. There is one mining town under the control of the CP. These miners marched, carrying their guns with them, to insure that the workers' choices remained in the trade union leadership. We do not know what to do with these armed forces. The comrades can help us decide. Maybe some of these forces can be used to help Cuba if it suffers aggression.

"Seven hundred thousand workers out of a population of three million belong to the Central Labor Union.

"In 1952, after the revolution, the armed workers marched through the street. Gradually things have been changed, the leaders have been moving to the right. There is a group which calls itself the Orthodox Marxists. This group still

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

fools and influences masses. We hope that the example and the experiences of the Cuban Revolution will change things and also teach the CP how to penetrate more deeply the mass movements, even the government party.

"There was one demonstration for Cuba in which 30,000 to 40,000 people participated. But not all of these people are controlled by the Party. In the factories, 90 per cent of the workers put their signature to the Havana Declaration. The peasants, though they are mainly illiterate, compelled the teachers to read material on the Cuban Revolution to them out loud. The results of the Cuban Revolution are quite different than those of the Bolivian Revolution. The peasants are beginning to see this.

"Our Party is young. It was formed in 1950. We realize that solidarity with Cuba is the main problem of Bolivian foreign policy. If we had a stronger Party, we could do more."

Remarks of a Member of the  
Central Committee of the CP of Peru

A member of the Central Committee of the CP of Peru was the next speaker. His identity is not known. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"We do not agree with comrade Hill's remarks about the border problem between Peru and Ecuador. There is a big radicalization in Peru despite the repression. When Richard Nixon was in Peru, he was booed and spat upon. The demonstrations against Nixon were big and of course, they resulted in attacks and arrests of CP members. The Cuban Revolution did not arouse enthusiasm at the beginning. This was due to a lack of information and this caused some doubt. But when the Cuban Revolution moved ahead the people understood.

"The peasants of Peru now know that the land in Cuba belongs to the peasantry and not to the big landlords. There

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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are examples in Peru of peasants now occupying land which belongs to some United States imperialist enterprises. The government so far has been unable to expel these peasants. Some peasants have lost their lives and they have had casualties but they are still holding on to the land they took from the United States imperialists. In the north, we have a similar situation.

"When the Cuban Representative visited Peru, the people turned out in mass on to the streets to welcome him. When Dorticos, the President of Cuba, visited Peru, he was practically a prisoner of the government so he would not be able to reach the people.

"We have a solidarity committee for Cuba. The CP has some influence in this. It is only a wing of this committee. The trade unions are in the hands of the reactionaries. Due to the crisis of the Cuban Revolution, the national bourgeoisie has abandoned the Committee for the Defense of Cuba.

"The youth is militant and organizes flash meetings. During the OAS meeting in Costa Rica, the youth organized a flash meeting in front of the United States Embassy. At the demonstration, they burned United States flags for the first time. Later, they burned in effigy, the Prime Minister of Peru wrapped in a United States flag.

"The Party press does not appear regularly because we have to publish it abroad but we do manage to get leaflets out. The youth in Peru is publishing the documents of the People's Socialist Party. Our country is closed to Cuban publications but we published Cuban documents just the same.

"The government conducts a campaign against what it calls Fidelism and Communism. It speaks of Havana as the Latin American Moscow and it tried to utilize against us the slogan which was once raised, turn the Andes into the Sierra Maestra of the Americas.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

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"I repeat, our Party is not strong. We still lack enough information about the Cuban Revolution. Our task is to see to it that our press comes out more regularly. This will help us. The Politburo decided that the Cuban solidarity movement is our most important task. The revolutionary situation in Peru is ripening. There are more strikes. There is a revolutionary upsurge in Peru. The CP, therefore, must grow."

Remarks of Hugo Victor

Hugo Victor, Chairman of the People's Party of Panama was the next speaker. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"We of the Central Committee of the Panamanian CP start with the proposition that the Cuban Revolution is the axis for all Latin American work. Yet we have problems. The youth did assimilate the Cuban experience. There is no big mass movement in defense of Cuba but what exists is really a youth movement. We can express solidarity for Cuba through fighting for our demands. As you know, in November, 1959, we had big demonstrations and struggles in Panama which were echoes of the Cuban Revolution. When we fight for sovereignty in our zone, we fight United States imperialism, the common enemy. The Cuban Ambassador in Panama is anti-Communist. When we set up solidarity committees, this Ambassador said we should dissolve these committees.

"The nationalization of the Panama Canal is not yet a demand of the people. It is wrong as stated in the Havana Declaration, or as stated in the newspaper 'Revolucion' of Havana that this is the main task and slogan for Panama.

"All classes in Panama are against the United States imperialists but the bourgeoisie wants to hold on to the market of the Canal. There is profit from it. Even some sections of the population are not for the nationalization of the Canal.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

I want to remind you that the police in Panama are a privileged class in the service of the capitalist class and United States imperialism. But the Cuban Revolution has produced an upsurge for the Cuban Revolution among Panamanian workers, students, peasants, and so on. But it has not, however, penetrated the peasantry. However, these will be reached too. Yet at the present time we are weak among the peasants. We cannot as yet pose the question, are you for or against the revolution? But if the United States attacks Cuba we believe that the people would react violently against the imperialists. We need a better understanding of the revolution in our Party and we feel that this is now possible."

Remarks of a Member of the  
Central Committee of the  
Dominican People's Socialist Party

A member of the Central Committee of the Dominican People's Socialist Party was the last speaker in this session. His identity is not known. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"We are influenced by the Cuban Revolution. As you know, we took part in an armed uprising last June. We will not discuss this now. You know about the expedition. But there are a few things we can do to pay our debt of solidarity that we owe the Cuban comrades. We work under very difficult conditions in the Dominican Republic. At the same time, our Party is very inexperienced. But we will carry our grain of sand in the Latin American revolutions. We have a radio station that the Cuban comrades gave us and we call upon our people to fight oppression. We also have a monthly paper which calls for solidarity and awakens our people to struggle against dictatorship and United States imperialism. Even a few slogans painted on walls are of importance in such a situation as we are in and these things are done at great risks. When Fidel was in New York at the meeting of the 15th Assembly of the United Nations, our exiles organized demonstrations in front of the United Nations building.

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DECEMBER 3, 1960 SESSION  
OF A MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA, OF COMMUNIST  
PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

"I would like to see discussion where we engage in self-criticism because this is needed too. Some Latin Americans are doubtful of the leadership of the revolution in Cuba. They ask, where is the Party? I am a witness that it is there and comrade Anibal Escalante gave a good outline of the exact situation.

"Our Party was too inexperienced to guide the ill-fated expedition and in that expedition we lost six members of the Central Committee as well as other comrades. But this was not in vain. We have learned a lot. We are a small Party but when the Guatemalan Revolution took place, we were in it. When the Venezuelan Revolution took place, we were in it. Now we are in the Cuban Revolution. But we must remind you again that there are not too many of us left".

This concluded the session of December 3, 1960,

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F B I

Date: 1/16/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division, one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing the summary remarks of ANIBAL ESCALANTE, adoption of a proposal for a document, and the concluding discussion on a People's Congress in Latin America at the meeting in Moscow, Russia of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America. This is the last communication dealing with this five day meeting, which was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow, as guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (ph) Number 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern 6 story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he was the only CP, USA representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN and HELEN WINTER were each present on one or two occasions during the 5 day meeting. Usually their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The sessions were conducted in the Spanish language, however, CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No member of the CP, USA has notes comparable to those of CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

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Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bulet dated 11/2/60, this letterhead memorandum is classified "~~secret~~". Because of the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, the Bureau may desire to consider changing the classification to "~~top~~ ~~secret~~". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., in accordance with instructions contained in reBulet.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN in the form of dictaphone dictabelts on 1/10/61.

GALE.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 16, 1961

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SUMMARY REMARKS OF ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL AND CONCLUDING  
DISCUSSION AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN  
LATIN AMERICA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

At the final day of sessions of the Moscow, Russia, 5 day meeting of representatives of Communist Parties in Latin America, the delegates heard the summary remarks of Anibal Escalante, a Secretary of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, which is the Communist Party (CP) in Cuba. The meeting concluded with the adoption of a proposal for a document and a general discussion concerning a People's Congress in Latin America.

The representatives of the CPs in Latin America were in Moscow, to attend the November, 1960 meeting of representatives of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties. The meeting of these representatives of CPs in Latin America was held during the first part of December, 1960, in the theater of a hotel limited to CP representatives, who were guests of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located near the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern 6 story building.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

Summary Remarks of Anibal Escalante

The following is the essence of the summary remarks of Anibal Escalante.

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SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

"Regarding the activity of Cuban diplomats in various countries, we in Cuba are in the process of developing a new corps of diplomatic personnel. It is not easy to have a corps for the revolution that has been trained in diplomacy and that understands all the facets of the Cuban Revolution. Some of these so-called diplomats, like in Bolivia, cooperate too much and go beyond diplomatic bounds. Some, as reflected in the complaint from Brazil and in some other countries, are actually right-wingers. There are a few people who are trying hard. We hope that in time we will have the necessary personnel that will really represent Cuba in the various countries.

"Regarding the complaints that there are residing in Cuba, people calling themselves Communists or left-wingers and saying that they are for the revolution, but, in the words of some Comrades present here, are not Communists, we will admit that there are some adventurers in Havana. But there are also some good Comrades and even others who may not be Communists but are sympathetic and good and who we cannot allow to go hungry. So we take care of them. But I want to tell you Comrades that whatever we will do in using some people who happen to reside in Cuba, or in Havana, we will not be interfering in other Party's affairs. Some of them come to us and ask that they be fed and that they be taught. They want to go to school. We are very careful in choosing some of these people, sending them to school and even feeding them. So be at ease Comrades, we will try to do everything possible not to develop a corps that might be a hindrance to you instead of a help.

"Now once again I want to emphasize the question of Latin American help and solidarity. This will be decisive. I would even say it may be more decisive than the help which we now receive from the U.S.S.R. If we

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

receive our solidarity chiefly from Latin America, it will be difficult for the United States to attack. We need this solidarity to prevent other Latin American countries from joining the attack against us or allowing the United States a free hand.

"What can the other countries, especially the Parties which have influence, do if the enemy attacks? Pamphlets, leaflets, literature of all sorts are all right, but we must all be prepared in all countries to take part in more decisive actions. In some places, where the conditions are ripe and the influence of Cuba is strong, pressure can be put upon the governments of particular countries to make them change their policy or to make them take a more positive attitude or stand towards Cuba.

"If the United States Marines should attack, there is going to be strong resistance. This period of resistance will give the other Latin Americans time to mobilize, to get help, etc. This will be the time when other fronts can be created. I do not want to say in which countries, but we might say, as already discussed here, in places like Venezuela and I am sure in other countries.

"Our country has entered a new stage and is going ahead. Our general perspective was correct and life now shows that even in the Dominican Republic there are possibilities for the revolution. Some methods of solidarity have not been answered or resolved. For example, the Latin American countries can give us more technicians and specialists. You should know that the U.S.S.R. wants to help but it is inadvisable that they send us too many specialists and experts and besides, there is the language problem. But if we get such aid from the Latin American countries, we can really say out loud that we do have aid; we are receiving aid and we can even say from what countries.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Chile has sent us many such people and they are doing good work in Cuba, but I want to tell the comrades that these specialists will even be better later on when their political understanding is improved as they live and work in Cuba. Specialization is not enough. Ideology is almost as important and we will make an effort to improve the ideology of all the specialists that you send to us, whether Party, non-Party, mere progressive, or patriotic Latin American bourgeoisie.

"We need aid for agriculture. Therefore, send us such specialists or tools that will help us in agriculture. We can also use a lot of foodstuff. So if there is any work for solidarity with Cuba going on in your countries, foodstuff can be collected as well as other things that we need.

"I want to say something to the Guatemalan Comrades. It is our opinion that they can get rid of the imperialist bases and they will know how to do this in Guatemala. We also know that the United States imperialists have established bases in Honduras and that it is not going to be difficult to get rid of the Yankee bases in Honduras either, if the comrades set their mind to this problem.

As we have indicated yesterday, we will have a checkup in May. We are going to see how the solidarity movement is developing and we will know what further steps to take.

"We have been speaking here of the necessity to study the Cuban Revolution, how the united front developed, how the trade union movement developed, etc. Some of these experiences might be useful for some countries. For some countries they might not be so useful. It was the process which developed a leadership in Cuba. It was this leadership that influenced the speed of the revolution,

~~TOP SECRET~~

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SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

not only the Party, but the leadership of the July 26th Movement, and others who were for the revolution with sincerity. The Cuban Revolution was the result not only of objective conditions. These objective conditions have existed for a long time. If only objective conditions could make a revolution, it would be a miracle. I want to emphasize that the subjective work of leadership and masses of people who understand tactics are a very important part of making a revolution.

"You will recall, and we told you this sometime ago, that we originally objected to Castro's attack in the palace, that is, when he tried his coup, in the middle 1950's. Yet, looking back, from the objective point of view, we can say that this effort at a coup has served to advance the revolution. Another thing, we did not agree with the date set for the landing in Cuba, but they, the July 26th Movement, did not agree with us. And, of course, their losses were far too great. At that time we lost 60 good people. Comrades, we do not talk about these things in public, but it is necessary to keep such things in mind.

"In our united front we have agreed not to publicize what you might call agreements. If we made our understanding and agreements with the other elements in the revolution public, it would have helped, it might still help, the anti-Communists. This is a good experience. Other Parties should pay attention to this method. This approach of not making things public or pushing ourselves to the forefront, has helped us in Cuba.

"Now, we see things more clearly. We see a growing radicalization in Cuba. We see the development of nationalization, etc. We do not speak and did not speak of nationalization of industry. We did speak about the public utilities and why they should belong to the people. We spoke about the banks and how they exploit the people. We talked of Cuba for the Cubans. It was only later that we undertook a big program of nationalization and we did this in the name of anti-imperialism, self-defense

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

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and to satisfy our economic needs. This method and approach protected our forces. We can say that this method, and I want to emphasize this, is like using camouflage in a war.

"When the workers and peasants see clearly, become conscious, the national bourgeoisie is afraid. Naturally, in other Latin American countries, even if you have a different situation, you will go through a similar process. The bourgeoisie may at first be with you, then they will become scared. The bourgeoisie in Cuba became less enthusiastic as the revolution developed. The landlords did not like the 50% cut in rents. Who expected them to like it? The landlords were opposed to the agrarian reform. But I want to remind you that at the beginning of our revolution, even the landlords shouted 'long live the revolution'. But later on, they ceased to shout or show any enthusiasm. But our tactics defeated the Plattists. I have told you that before and I want to repeat it again.

"Some say that we are using the name Fidel or Castro too much. Perhaps. But keep in mind that the name Fidel has great significance for us. Each Party should study us, should study our methods, our tactics. But be careful. Do not just be copycats, or you may get into difficulties.

"Let me restate the tasks of the revolution:

"1) Task Number One, or the chief task, is to maintain our unity at all costs. Too, we must study the relation between the objective and subjective factors in Cuba.

"2) Take over, as we did, the state apparatus. This is very important.

"3) We must be prepared to defend the revolution, therefore, defense becomes an outstanding problem.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"4) Work hard to bring revolutionary consciousness among the masses. Spreading the ideas of Marxist-Leninist ideology is sometimes just as important as ammunition."

At this point, Escalante was interrupted. The General Secretary of the CP of Paraguay, whose identity is not known, asked Escalante to explain why they do not hold elections in Cuba and how they explain this to the people. Escalante proceeded to explain and the following is the essence of his remarks.

"In the People's Democracies in the countries of eastern Europe, they did not immediately use the election methods after they overthrew the bourgeoisie, or even if they took power peacefully, together with other Parties. But keep in mind that the conditions in these countries were different than in Cuba. But above all, keep in mind the fact that the Soviet Army was present and this could, to some extent, guarantee the outcome of the elections. We in Cuba think that the conditions are not ripe for elections. When all the counter-revolutionaries and their Parties are liquidated, when their influence is dissipated completely, we can have an election. At this earlier stage of the revolution, parliament would have been an obstacle to us and to the aims of the revolution.

"The important thing is that we have the support of the masses. They gave all power to the Cabinet. It is legal. It is going forward to a new stage in the revolution. This government will reform the Constitution, will eliminate the two Chambers and other things that could impede the expression of the people. We are going to have one Chamber and the president will be elected by this Chamber. In Cuba, at this time, the main thing is to consolidate the unity of the revolutionary forces. We are studying the possibility of elections, but at this moment, I cannot tell you when we will finish this study and when we will announce the advisability of such elections.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

"Now about this most important question which seems to bother a lot of Parties, that is about one revolutionary Party in Cuba. Before we have such a Party, an organization that we can really call a Party, we must acquire a Marxist-Leninist base. I must tell you frankly, that at this moment, right now, this is only a hypothesis. We do not know when we will have this kind of one Party that we are talking about, but I can assure you that we are working for it."

Remarks of Rodney Arismendi

RUSSIA

At this point, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the CP of Uruguay, spoke briefly. The following is the essence of his remarks.

"In my opinion, there is democracy in Cuba because the revolution is based upon the workers and peasants, upon the People's Socialist Party, the July 26th Movement, the March 4 Directorate. The people are armed. There is unanimity. Even the students and professors, the professionals, the state employees, etc., are behind the revolution."

Adoption of a Proposal  
for a Document

RUSSIA

At this time Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina, introduced what he called an outline for this conference. This outline would serve as the basis for drawing up a document for internal consumption only by the Central Committees of the CPs in Latin America. He said he had talked this outline over with other leading Comrades, Anibal Escalante, Arnaldo Verdugo, Jesus Faria, Luis Carlos Prestes, and it can be polished up and hammered into a document afterwards if the people present agree to this outline. Ghioldi's outline was, of course, later accepted. It is not known whether

~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW;  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

or not the document has been produced at this time. It was not ready for distribution in Moscow, in mid December, 1960, but in any case, it was talked about. The following is the essence of Ghioldi's outline.

"1) We will announce to our own Central Committees that on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, we met in Moscow. That we heard a report from Anibal Escalante on the development of the Cuban Revolution and its international importance.

"2) That we concluded at this conference that solidarity with Cuba is possible. That all CPs in Latin America recognize that the Cuban Revolution is the leader of all revolutions, and has significance for all Parties.

"3) That the threat of a United States invasion is imminent or it is possible that the United States may use other Latin American vassal states for such an invasion.

"These facts should encourage our people, first of all the Communists, to work for a higher stage of solidarity with Cuba. We need to, first of all, show the objectives of such an invasion or intervention, and at the same time, show to the people the real gains of the Cuban Revolution. We have to emphasize all over Latin America that the Cuban Revolution is our revolution, that we must stop the hand of the aggressor.

"4) If, despite our effort the imperialists succeed in launching some intervention, we promise that we will go over to more direct and positive actions in each country to help Cuba.

"All Parties should discuss this question, use their initiative, as to how they can help the Cuban Revolution, especially in case of intervention.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~SECRET~~  
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"5) We suggest that all Parties take into consideration that the Pan-American Conference is scheduled for Quito and that it should take place, according to the announcement, sometime in March. All Parties should be prepared, and some Parties have special tasks, in order to expose this Pan-American Quito Conference. Venezuela has some special tasks, as do other Parties.

" The People's Socialist Party of Cuba is responsible to organize a meeting in Havana to be held this May. At this meeting in May, we will review the situation. We should see to it that even if non-Party delegations are sent to Cuba in May, that Communists become a part of the delegation, accompanying this delegation. Otherwise, it becomes rather difficult for the Communists to get together. If, in May, there is a meeting of the Parties of the Americas in Havana, and a document is worked out, the Havana Declaration should become a part of this document".

These were the suggestions put forth in the outline proposed by Ghioldi. Everybody agreed to the essence of this outline but discussion was not over.

Concluding Discussion Concerning a  
People's Congress in Latin America

*RUSSIA*

Arnoldo Verdugo, General Secretary of the CP of Mexico, said that the Latin Americans should be told about the role of Vincente Lombardo Toledano and that his new Party is anti-Communist and should be exposed.

*RUSSIA*

Gilberto Vieira, Political Secretary of the CP of Colombia, asked: "What happened to our People's Congress? Obviously, we have changed the idea of the composition of such a Congress. It has become more complicated to bring people together for such a conference especially in Havana, because of the sharp change in the relation of forces in the development of the Cuban Revolution."

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

~~SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

RUSSIA  
Jesus Maria, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Venezuela, said: "Originally we thought that we might hold such a Congress in Caracas and that Venezuela would be the host. We cannot do it now. I therefore suggest that we postpone the idea of such a People's Congress and perhaps someday soon Venezuela may be able to act as the host."

RUSSIA  
Alberti Gonzales Paulino, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina said: "Maybe we should still consider the idea of this Congress. We can finally resolve it at this meeting in May in Havana, but the Congress should take on a different character. We may call it a Conference for the Defense of the Natural Resources of Latin America, a Conference for the Defense of Latin American Culture, etc. All I know is that we need a broad theme for the call of such a conference. If it is called only for the defense of Cuba, it will be narrow and no known personalities will respond."

RUSSIA  
Jose Gonzales, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Chile, said: "I agree that there should be a very broad conference and do not expect that the participants will readily agree to accept Communists as such or a Communist program. It may be anti-imperialist. This may be its program. We in Chile are having some difficulties in deciding. I believe we differ with some of you as to the nature of such a conference. We want the broadest conference possible, the kind that would even include Catholics because they are in favor of Latin American independence. If we raise other issues I am afraid our conference will be narrowed."

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~~TOP SECRET~~

SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

RUSSIA

Rudolfo Ghioldi again spoke and said: "I favor a very broad conference. This conference will have to have some color but it cannot be based on the Havana Declaration. There are Latin Americans who are patriotic but who are against Fidel. Yet at the same time they are passionately against United States imperialist intervention. We must use these people, but whatever kind of conference we finally decide to call, it would be wrong to exclude Communist Parties. There should be Communists present even if they are there under some other name, representing some other organization. Or maybe we can only have a few Communist personalities that are well known in Latin America, let us say like Luis Carlos Prestes. But whatever we do, it should be a broad conference and not merely a Communist or left wing conference."

RUSSIA

Arnoldo Verdugo spoke again and said: "I think it should be a People's Conference. It has to be different because the situation in Latin America is different. I urge that the idea of such a conference should not be put off and that it should be decided as soon as possible."

Both Ghioldi and Escalante interrupted and said: "Give us time to think this problem over. We think we can resolve this problem by the time we get together in Havana in May or even earlier."

RUSSIA

Then Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary of the CP of Brazil, said: "We have been talking about this People's Congress now for years. In fact, I could say we have been talking about it since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In my opinion, we can hold a very broad conference for peace, and if we hold a conference for peace, this conference has to be against intervention in Cuba because intervention would endanger the peace."

~~TOP SECRET~~

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SUMMARY REMARKS OF  
ANIBAL ESCALANTE,  
ADOPTION OF A PROPOSAL  
AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION  
AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW,  
RUSSIA OF COMMUNIST PARTIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

On this basis, it is my opinion that we can get important personalities to participate. We don't even have to talk about anti-imperialism and other such things. I suggest that we hold a conference for peace, democracy and non-intervention and this would reach many sections of the people of Latin America; from the patriotic bourgeoisie down to the working class and to the peasantry, who would be represented by well known personalities."

This was the end of this meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of CPs in Latin America.

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F B I

Date: 1/26/61 ~~REC-31~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

At 11:00 p.m. on 1/25/61, CG 5824-S\* furnished the following information to SA [redacted]

Pursuant to telephonic arrangements made with VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY on 1/24/61, CG 5824-S\* went to the Willard Theater at Jamaica Avenue and 96th Street, Queens, about 6:00 p.m. on 1/25/61, and remained there until 7:00 p.m., at which time, he left the theater and proceeded to walk toward Woodhaven Blvd., observing at this time BARKOVSKY, who was on the street outside the theater. Previously, in accordance with instructions from BARKOVSKY, he had "cleaned himself" by spending several hours in taking a circuitous route to the theater.

In the area of Woodhaven Boulevard, BARKOVSKY passed CG 5824-S\* and proceeded to the Jamaica "L" Station, where he boarded a subway train. CG 5824-S\* followed him onto the train and they rode to a station in the area of 117th Street and Jamaica Avenue. BARKOVSKY proceeded to walk for a few

③ - Bureau (100-428091) (RM) REC-31  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM) 100-428091-1170  
 1 - NY 65-15026 (VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY) (344)  
 1 - NY 66-6989 (41)

ACB:msb (41)  
 (7)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

EX-127  
 6 JAN 27 1961  
 100-428091-1170  
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NY 66-6989

minutes in the general area and then stopped at the Triangle Hofbrau Restaurant at 117-13 Jamaica Avenue, where he waited until CG 5824-S\* joined him. Together they entered the restaurant. During the course of having dinner, which was a period of about an hour and a half, they discussed the following:

BARKOVSKY reminded CG 5824-S\* that when they had last met in Moscow BARKOVSKY had informed CG 5824-S\* that it was imperative that NY 694-S\* move his office to another location, inasmuch as the Soviets felt that the location of NY 694-S\*'s present office constitutes a security hazard as regards meetings between BARKOVSKY and NY 694-S\*. BARKOVSKY inquired whether NY 694-S\* as yet had acquired a new office. CG 5824-S\* told BARKOVSKY that NY 694-S\* is looking for a new location, but as yet has not found a suitable one. He pointed out that it is not easy to find office space such as NY 694-S\* requires. They discussed possible locations where NY 694-S\* might establish a new office.

CG 5824-S\* suggested the area in the 50's in New York City, but BARKOVSKY stated that this area was too close to the Soviet UN Headquarters. CG 5824-S\* then suggested the area of 34th Street in New York City. BARKOVSKY said that this area was too close to the Post Office at 34th Street and also close to the department store area. He said that it could be anticipated that in such an area, there would be a large concentration of FBI Agents, who would be there by reason of surveilling individuals frequenting the area. BARKOVSKY stated that generally the office should be located in an area not frequented by "both your friends and mine."

BARKOVSKY then inquired whether CG 5824-S\* would be

NY 66-6989

in New York City on Friday, February 3, 1961. CG 5824-S\* told him that he would not be in New York at that time. BARKOVSKY then said he would do business at that time with NY 694-S\*. He told CG 5824-S\* to instruct NY 694-S\* to meet him at 7:00 p.m. on the aforesaid date, at the Townhouse Restaurant, 138-39 Queens Boulevard, Queens, where he previously has met the New York informant. He stated that NY 694-S\* should proceed from the Townhouse Restaurant as he has in the past, turning left and walking until BARKOVSKY should contact him.

BARKOVSKY said that on Friday, February 3, 1961, NY 694-S\* should have in his possession--but not with him--a hired car, and that the New York informant should be able at that time to give him a description of the said car and the license number thereof. BARKOVSKY stated that the reason for making this request was that he would arrange a second meeting with NY 694-S\*, to be held several days after the first meeting with the New York informant, and that on the second meeting, it would be necessary that NY 694-S\* have the hired car with him.

BARKOVSKY inquired whether or not CG 5824-S\* had properly "cleaned himself" before meeting BARKOVSKY and whether there had been any indication that CG 5824-S\* had been under surveillance. CG 5824-S\* assured BARKOVSKY that he had "cleaned himself", and that, to the best of his knowledge, he had not been under surveillance.

CG 5824-S\* then briefed BARKOVSKY with respect to the agenda at the recent CPUSA National Committee meeting held at Adelphi Hall in New York City. BARKOVSKY stated that on Friday, 2/3/61, NY 694-S\* should be ready to deliver to BARKOVSKY, in microfilm, copies of pertinent CPUSA documents

NY 66-6989

| referring to the aforesaid National Committee meeting.

✓ CG 5824-S\* explained to BARKOVSKY that CPUSA contact with the Cuban CP had been severed and that the Canadian CP was being requested to use its channels to maintain contact between the CPUSA and the CP of Cuba. BARKOVSKY was asked to transmit this information to the Soviets. ||

✓ CG 5824-S\* also told BARKOVSKY that JIM ALLEN, who has been in the Soviet Union, has written a letter to GUS HALL, reflecting that ALLEN would like to go to Peiping, China, for a visit. The informant requested that BARKOVSKY transmit, through Soviet channels, a message to ALLEN that by CPUSA instructions ALLEN, under no circumstances, should go to China.

✓ It was agreed between BARKOVSKY and CG 5824-S\* that in the event of an emergency, when possibly BARKOVSKY might not be able to contact either CG 5824-S\* or NY 694-S\*, BARKOVSKY should make contact with ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

Before separating, BARKOVSKY suggested to CG 5824-S\* that in about two months, the Chicago informant contact him for the purpose of arranging another meeting.

✓ The NYO will attempt to arrange for technical coverage of the automobile which NY 694-S\* is to drive when he meets BARKOVSKY pursuant to arrangements made by CG 5824-S\*.

( By reason of the nature of the above informant, no letterhead memorandum is being submitted herewith. )

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 1-24-61

Attached information supplied by CG 5824-S\* was obtained during personal visit of informant to home of the Sterns in Prague, Czechoslovakia. This information adds nothing of prosecutive value to the Stern Case. We already had the pertinent information concerning assets of Stern in the United States. No dissemination is being made.

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SPC  
1/24

File  
3 Jan

FBI

Date: 1/16/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies, and to the New York Division, one copy of a letterhead memorandum containing remarks by RUDOLFO GHIOLDI of the CP of Argentina and ARNOLDO MARTINEZ VERDUGO, General Secretary of the CP of Mexico. These remarks were made on 12/4/60 at a meeting in Moscow, Russia, of representatives of CPs in Latin America. This meeting lasted for five days and was held in the theater of a hotel restricted to CP members who were in Moscow as guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCPSU). This hotel is located at Platnikov Paraulik (phonetic) No. 12. It is near Arbatskaya Street, the main polyclinic and Foreign Office. It is a modern six-story building which will house between 200 and 250 guests.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he was the only CP, USA representative who attended all sessions of this meeting. JAMES JACKSON, JAMES ALLEN and HELEN WINTER were each present on one or two occasions during the five-day meeting. Usually their attendance was limited to a few minutes. The sessions were conducted in the Spanish language, however, CG 5824-S\* received assistance in the translation of the remarks. No members of the CP, USA have notes comparable to CG 5824-S\* on this very exclusive meeting.

For this reason and in compliance with instructions set forth in Bureau letter dated 11/2/60, the letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret". Because of the nature of the meeting and the information obtained, the Bureau may desire to consider changing the classification to "Top Secret".

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Special Agent in Charge

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The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C. in accordance with instructions contained in referenced Bureau letter.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN in the form of dictaphone dictabelts on 1/10/61.

GALE





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D.C.  
January 16, 1961

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, has furnished the following information.

On December 4, 1960, representatives of Communist Parties (CPs) in Latin America met for the fifth day of a meeting in Moscow, Russia. The representatives of these Parties were in Moscow to attend the November, 1960 meeting of representatives of 81 CPs and Workers' Parties. This meeting of representatives in Latin America was held in the theater of a hotel limited to Communist Party (CP) members who were guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU). This hotel is located near the main polyclinic and the Foreign Office. It is a modern six-story building.

The CCCPSU did not directly participate in this meeting but did provide a translator who only occasionally took notes.

Remarks of Rudolfo Ghioldi

*Russ*  
During the session of December 4, 1960, remarks were made by Rudolfo Ghioldi, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Argentina and Arnaldo Martinez Verdugo, General Secretary of the CP of Mexico. This session reflected that there are some differences of opinion between the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, which is the CP in Cuba, and CPs in other Latin American countries. The following is the essence of the remarks of Rudolfo Ghioldi:

"To the casual listener or student of affairs of the CP of Argentina it may seem that the situation in Argentina is confused. But actually this is not so. It is a very complicated situation. There are many factors to consider. This is what may seem as confusion. I endorse the report of Anibal Escalante

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Many things that he said will be useful to us and we are going to take into account the Cuban experience. There are however, two concrete problems in Argentina that I want to discuss and I believe that Escalante was not clear enough regarding the situation in Argentina.

"We should be very careful when we speak of Latin America in general. We can speak of the Cuban way but we speak of it in a sense that the Cuban way means that certain deep structural changes have taken place in the economic and social life. We in Argentina are studying the Cuban Revolution as it was outlined in the report of Blas Roca at the 8th Assembly of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba. We have many problems and things in common but yet there are many differences between Cuba and Argentina as countries, and, of course, in the class relationships. It would therefore be dangerous to merely copy tactical questions. Escalante did not take into account certain differences between Argentina and Cuba as they relate, let us say, to the differences of relations with what we call reformists.

"There is another problem that I believe Escalante did not take fully into account. The 20th Congress of the CPSU did point to the peaceful road to socialism. That is, the CPSU said that there is a peaceful possibility for revolution. The 1957 Moscow Declaration and the present declaration that we have just endorsed also show that a peaceful path to socialism is more possible today because of the changed relation of forces in the world. Of course, the Moscow Declaration as well as the present declaration pointed to the possibility that there will be resistance by the bourgeoisie and the degree of resistance may determine how peaceful a revolution may be. If the democratic way is closed then the workers must use the other way, that is, the non-peaceful way. But, in our opinion, we should not weaken this basic formulation without taking tactical formulation into consideration and this we should consider on the basis of the situation in each particular country.

"In Argentina we are struggling against the oligarchy, but we are fighting for peace and democracy. Sometimes we are united with a section of the bourgeoisie, particularly the petty

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

bourgeoisie. We must always remember that in Argentina the united front is a fact but we also remember that the most important thing, the main thing, is the hegemony of the proletariat.

"The Cuban experience is good, as related here, by Comrade Anibal Escalante, but we must not turn the Cuban experience into a schematic thesis applicable to all countries in all situations. The masses in each country have their experience ideologically and of course have their own bourgeoisie and its experience is different from that of its bourgeoisie. This means there must be a fight on the part of the working class for hegemony. If the Party is in the lead and if the Party bases itself on Marxism-Leninism then the national and the small bourgeoisie cannot paralyze the movement. The CP of Argentina says that no deep changes in the social structure can take place until the proletariat gives leadership. It is true that there may be some guerrilla fighting in a revolution, but such guerrilla fighting may not take place in all countries.

"I want to outline what we consider the tasks in Argentina in the order of their importance.

"1) In Argentina, the first task is to unite to end the military regime.

"2) To win democracy.

"3) To carry on to the end revolution for land reform; that is, the liquidation of the big estates, the giving of the land to the peasants, and so on.

"The final objective is the triumph of socialism. But at the same time at this stage of development we fight for what we call daily immediate demands so that our struggle will be an agrarian, anti-imperialist struggle. We would favor a coalition government for democracy based on the parliamentary way to socialism. Of course, if that road is closed to us we will have to use other more forceful methods. In the meantime we continue to fight for democracy and for the removal of the military dictatorship and all those who bolster the terror of this dictatorship.

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

This struggle may require sacrifices and there may even be big struggles, but we do not ask for sacrifices or violence. We blame the reactionaries for causing the violence. We are prepared for violence too, if it is used by the reactionaries. Then of course they will be to blame and not we.

"I repeat, the situation in Argentina is very complex. It is easier to understand other Latin American countries than it is to understand Argentina. In Argentina, we have a crisis in the economic and political structure. Argentina is the center of contradictions between United States and British imperialism. The British position is still strong in Argentina, therefore, we fight both imperialisms. We must take this into account. LENIN showed us how to work and utilize a classical example of a country like Argentina, which is actually a semi-colony.

"We call Frondizi's government a government of treason. There is a wide resistance growing up against Frondizi, who is a stooge of United States imperialism.

"Our Party in Argentina is illegal. They are always raving against us. The Army has been used and it has its own unity. In Argentina we have a situation in the military which is similar to the French armed forces. This is an enemy that we cannot leave out of consideration. This enemy, the Army, is concentrated against the working class. Even the frontiers are left unguarded so that they can be used against the workers. The Army in Argentina is a closed corporation. It operates on the caste system. Even the bourgeoisie finds it difficult to enter the Army. Most ambassadors are army generals and are very reactionary.

"The CP in Argentina is increasing its influence. Sympathy for it is growing and so is the membership. The Party uses semi-legal forms and also fights to restore legality. It takes advantage of every legal possibility. Our enemy tries to divide the progressive forces. They bait us and they want us to use terrorism. They claim that we are illegal because of terroristic acts that we are supposed to have committed. We successfully deny these lies and we expose the enemy. We defend our

~~TOP SECRET~~

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

people. From a tactical point of view, it is very important that we in Argentina do not become involved in what can be classified as terrorism. We do not go to the mountains to organize guerrilla bands. Even if the Cuban Party and government offered us arms and other support at this time we would say, thank you very much but we do not want that. We are the ones who asked 'Che' Guevara to write the book on guerrilla warfare. Yet, the thesis and the methods he outlined in this book are not for us in Argentina, at least not at the present time.

"In our country we have a population of 23 million. Of this population, six million are industrial workers. One million people make up what we can call the rural proletariat which is also a part of the working class. The big landowners are in control of some two million hectares of land. On the other hand we have in Argentina a capitalist development of industry and commerce. Yet we still have remnants of feudalism with a big latifundia or the big estates in existence.

"We have a fighting working class in Argentina, but we must admit that it is divided. If the working class was united we could win. We do have united fronts and unity that goes beyond the united front, but these are for secondary demands. But even in strikes for these small demands, the government uses the military and the military as a rule takes over the trade unions. The unification of the trade unions is therefore a most important task. We must also admit that the bourgeois ideology is still strong among the workers.

"Even during the Peron regime the Communists used to receive 46 percent of the votes in the trade unions, but it requires patience to work with the Peronista people. I repeat, patience even now and a lot of hard work. Many comrades in the international movement did not understand our suffering and casualties in Argentina during the Peron regime. Some counseled that we should fight the bosses but not the Peronistas. We fought the bosses and at the same time won to our side the Peronista workers. Thus we avoided civil war amongst the working class.

~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Because of this method and patience we are now harvesting good results. The Peronista workers understand and work with us. We are able to do this because we sent comrades into the Peron controlled unions. Some who used to cry and shed tears because we did this in 1946, now in 1960 smile with satisfaction. This is because we now lead these Peronista trade unions in many places. The workers were for Peron, but they were never really anti-Communists.

"In 1955, during a military Putsch we asked for arms for the workers. Peron fled. He did not give these arms to the workers. The workers, who up until then followed Peron, learned some lessons as a result of this desertion. Of course they remember that Peron gave them some social reforms but we remind them that these reforms were not given to them but were possible because Argentinian capitalism grew stronger during World War II. It made a lot of profit and then Peron was able to give some reforms.

"Now some words about the Party. We now have 100,000 CP members. In 1946 we had only 15,000 members. Not all of our membership can be considered real Marxists. But the majority are good working class fighters although some members of our Party still have the pictures of Peron on their walls. When we ask them the reason for this they say, we cannot forget that man. We have won many former Peronistas to our Party.

"In our country we are getting used to the idea that we have a half a dozen attempts at Putsches a year and of course the counter-Putsches. Argentina looks like an armed camp. But despite these Putsches and the display of armed might, we continue to fight for constitutional government and for a democratic regime. We fight the Putschists but when a Putsch takes place we call upon the workers to come out in the street and prevent the reactionaries from winning. We are nearing the moment when we will answer the Putsch with unity. We also know that the United States Embassy is always involved in some Putsch or counter-Putsch. Two months ago the United States intervened directly to stop one Putsch because it was afraid that if Frondizi was overthrown, American imperialism might lose control of the situation and might not be able to restore the status quo.

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Now for a little history. In the last election we supported Frondizi. We supported his program, not the man. Let us read his program. I will not burden you with the entire program, but in that program you will find demand number one is land reform. Also in that program are the following: the state should give aid to the cooperatives, the important industries should be nationalized, there should be financial reform, measures of social security should be introduced, etc. etc. We say that if such a program would be put forth again, we would support this program again. In fact this program could be the program of the Party if there was only added support for the Soviet Union's peace program and a policy for socialism.

"We also want you to remember that in 1955 Frondizi was the founder of the League for Civil Liberties. Frondizi at that time exposed the United States monopolies. He denied that he was a Communist but millions of people actually believed that he was. For three or four months after the election, we retained close contact with him. Our head of the Party, Codovilla, used to see him and very often he would send emissaries to us asking for help. At that time we urged Frondizi not to publish anything about our relationships or even the fact that he was trying to make contact with Khrushchev. We might characterize that period as one of idyllic relations with Frondizi. We could not give him unconditional support. We had our own candidates running for office until the day before the elections when we switched and urged support for him. We warned him that he would be overthrown if he did not build support amongst the population and when he ceased to depend upon the masses.

"After the Frondizi treason, we did not lose anything. The Argentinian people remembered our warning. After the election we in the Central Committee of the Party held a plenum. We said that we were going to mobilize the masses to put pressure on Frondizi so he would carry through the program and promises of the election. We asked for the destruction of the police regime and for the reorganization and the disbanding of the army apparatus. We asked for the ousting of imperialism and its agents. We said that this would not be easy but it could be done if he, Frondizi, would base himself on the masses. We further

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~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

said that he would have to support everything of a positive nature but he would have to fight the negative. We had no illusions about the Frondizi regime. There was a secret pact between Frondizi and Peron at the time of the elections. Frondizi had promised to turn the trade unions over to Peron. We, the Communists, prevented this. We took the program of Frondizi. We fought for it. We continued to fight for it and we fought to win the Peronistas in the trade unions.

"Now I want to speak about leftism. Leftism is dangerous in Argentina. The leftists condemn contact with the national and radical parts of the bourgeoisie. The Trotskyites have a lot of influence amongst the students. The students are not allied with the workers. Actually in Argentina there is no other left but the CP, which fights for peace, against imperialism and for an alliance between workers, the peasants, the students, and the patriotic bourgeoisie. In short, we fight to establish a united front of all of these elements.

"We are constantly fighting for the legality of the Party. At the present time there are 40 trials going on which affect the status of the Party. We are constantly exposing the provocations. There is a section in the Army which, we know, is against the illegalization of the Party. We utilize that, too. We charge that the present government is illegal; we are legal. We boycotted the last elections. We mobilized the peasants who marched on to Buenos Aires. The enemy is waiting for the moment when we will march alone, but that will never be because we in Argentina believe in the united front. We have a policy for all mass movements and we work in all mass movements and organizations to extend our influence and to build the united front. We are now trying very hard to win influence in the peasant movement and to lead the peasant movement and to change the composition of the peasant leadership. We are conducting special fights for democracy.

"We are preparing thousands of Communist cadres. Despite the illegality there are schools in operation. We can say that we have about 10,000 CP members attending one school or another.

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Thousands have gone through our elementary schools. We have an elementary school that lasts two months, full time. We also have a six months school and we have a one year school, and, I repeat, that at least 10,000 of our cadre are involved and most of them have gone through one of these schools.

"In the last trade union elections we won in the transportation unions and in unions in other industries. The government stopped these elections or nullified them but the fact remains that we have the majority on our side. This is true in the textile union and a number of other unions. I do not want to create the impression that the candidates who won were all Communists. There were Communists on the list but there were also others on the list. Our demands were broad.

"We print 11,500 copies of the 'World Marxist Review' illegally and we distribute them. I want to emphasize that as far as our press circulation is concerned we sell 85 percent of what we print and we get paid for at least 85 percent of that which we print."

This completed the remarks of Rudolfo Ghioldi.

Remarks of Arnolando Martinez Verdugo

The next speaker was Arnolando Martinez Verdugo, member of the Central Committee of the CP of Mexico and the General Secretary of the CP of Mexico. The following is the essence of his remarks:

"In summary form, what was the situation in our Party until our last Congress? The situation was very complicated. It is therefore difficult to be brief and to give these facts in summary form, but we will try. Our Party suffered from an internal crisis. This was evident in the concrete situation. The mass influence of the Party was weakened. 20 years ago the Party influence was great amongst the peasantry and particularly in the trade union movement. This influence was lost slowly and now the Party has influence only in some trade unions and in some

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~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

isolated organizations of the peasants. Up until last year we did not have a real idea of the why of these weaknesses. Due to objective circumstances these weaknesses can be explained. We also have to take into consideration the bourgeois influence over the revolution, the Trotskyite influence and that in Mexico the petty bourgeoisie was increasing in numbers.

"The Party crisis resulted from two fundamental errors. In the 1930's the CP was illegal but it had close relations with the masses. After it came out of illegality it had great influence but in 1937 the CP of Mexico began to follow an opportunistic line. It gave unconditional support to the government of General Cardenas. The bourgeoisie made an effort and won control over the peasantry and its organizations. The CP did not understand this and virtually handed over the peasants to the bourgeoisie. Lombardo Toledano helped in this surrender. In 1949, the CP changed its line and fought Aleman, who was then President. It fought the labor leaders who were under Aleman's influence. As a result of this fight we grew in 1950-52, but this fight did not last long or was it continued.

"The Party leadership of Encina (Dionisio Encina Rodriguez) reverted to the old opportunist line. In our newspapers and magazines the Party followed a revolutionary line, but in practice the national leadership of the Party was opportunistic. There was rarely response to the situation as it developed from day to day amongst the workers and peasants. There were no concentration efforts made in the trade unions or in the countryside. Whenever we were faced with concrete problems the leadership followed an opportunistic line. We can also state that from 1950 up until last year, there was no self-criticism at all. All criticism was eliminated. The boss method of work prevailed. There was no collective leadership and we can say that in Mexico we had in the Party the cult of the personality in leadership. This leadership mechanically controlled the organization. The General Secretary was so protected that he could not be touched and if anybody raised some questions or criticized, such person was expelled. Therefore, during these years many hundreds, if not thousands, of Mexican comrades were unjustly expelled from the CP.

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

~~TOP SECRET~~

Whenever political differences would arise they would be solved by organizational methods. If someone differed with or criticized the leadership, he was immediately expelled. This is what happened in 1940; this is what happened in 1943 and in 1948, another group was expelled.

"In 1957, a group of members was expelled and these were the ones who went into the Workers and Peasants Party. This group in the Workers and Peasants Party called everyone in the CP opportunistic. Their attitude was anti-Party, although they criticized the Mexican Government; they supported the USSR and favored Marxism-Leninism. Inside the CP of Mexico, there was a dissatisfied section which saw the Party dying slowly as it became isolated from the masses.

"In 1956 or 1957, a big movement developed under the leadership of the Party. The CP won ideological control over some trade unions and other organizations that up until then were in the hands of government agents. A real upsurge developed amongst the masses. This situation made it necessary to solve the inner-Party problems. The 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 had a profound effect on our Party in Mexico. This gave new life to our Party and helped us to create new conditions in the CP of Mexico, but the leadership of the Party did not really understand the significance of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The national leadership of the Party only took a formal attitude toward the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They promised a new line, talked about it, but did nothing.

"At a Federal District conference, the Party leadership was openly criticized. So was the cult of the personality. We had suggested that it was time for the Party to begin to do some mass work and to work in the trade unions. We thought it necessary that the Central Commission call a Party Congress to take these necessary steps which were being outlined. Notwithstanding Encina's opposition, good resolutions were adopted at this Federal District conference but the Central Committee of the Party, still controlled by Encina, took different steps. They started to get rid of those who criticized them and began to limit the activities

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

of those who wanted a new line for the Party. This discontent grew in the Party and from all parts of the country there was a growing demand that the Central Committee act and call a Party Congress.

"At the 21st Congress of the CPSU there were delegates present from all over. When we got back to Mexico, we put forth the demand for a new Congress. We also took steps to organize state leaderships which were virtually non-existent. We took steps to eliminate Encina since he opposed the collective will, and did nothing to favor the solving of our problems. A special commission was set up to put an end to the inner-Party crisis and to resolve our problems. Resolutions were written and all preparations were made for the Congress and, of course, changes in leadership were also made. This was discussed all over the country in all Party organizations, but a small clique in the leadership continued fighting all this and it was leading us to a split. They were hindering the preparations for the Party Congress. They acted as if the Party did not exist. The Central Committee of the Party did not fight the opportunists.

"It was the local Federal District group that began to lead the fight. The position of this group was accepted. There was a revolt against the Party leadership but this group too was expelled from the Party. The expulsion did not solve this problem. The majority of the Central Committee continued to carry on its disruptive work and postponed the Party Congress even as the delegates were gathering.

"Eventually the majority of the Central Committee called the Congress. There were 70 delegates, workers and peasants in the majority, present at this last Congress. Some delegates had 30 years of membership in the Party while some were very young. There were three reports made to the Congress. I made the report on the political situation. Terrazas (Manuel Terrazas Guerrero) reported on programmatic changes and Valdez (Jose Encarnacion Valdez Ochoa) reported on rules and by-laws. This Party Congress said that the Mexican Government's policy has led to surrender to United States imperialism and this same government follows a

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~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

policy of repression inside the country. In the last two years the jails have been filled with thousands of political prisoners. During big strikes as many as 50 thousand people would be thrown into prison or confined for long or short periods of time. Today, there are hundreds of people in jail who have been there for two years without trial. The Party Congress asked for a democratic front. We think that this front should be based on the workers and peasants because the hegemony of the workers is needed if this united front is to succeed. Toledano has organized a new party called the People's Socialist Party. This is an opportunistic party. We believe he did this in order to take advantage of what he thought would be our insoluble inner crisis, although he has failed.

"We of the Mexican Party believe that solidarity with Cuba is the main task. Many meetings of solidarity with Cuba have been broken up by the police. Later the government permitted some of these meetings. It has been using the law against social dissolution against all progressives and Communists. Anyone can be jailed under this law. We are calling for a mass fight against this. Recently there was a big broad congress held in Mexico for the freedom of political prisoners. This congress also demanded the freedom of Siqueiros and Matta (phonetic). Matta is not even a member of the Party and he is 72 years old, but the Mexican Government has been holding him in jail. The political prisoners are winning sympathy all over the country and one of these days the Mexican Government will be compelled to release these people.

"Internal problems inside the Party are being resolved differently than in the past. We asked for unity with the Workers and Peasants Party which is divided. Some of that group, as I said, has rejoined our Party; some of that group is still out, but we are continuing the discussions with them. We have gotten no where as yet with the Workers and Peasants Party except for individual members joining our ranks. We hope, however, to win them to our position and get them to join as a body.

"Encina has not been expelled from our Party as yet but we did not elect him to the Central Committee or to any body of

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REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

leadership. When the vote was taken on Encina, 59 voted against him. He got only eleven votes. We do not make this fact public. We want to inform you that only two members of the old majority on the Central Committee are in the Central Committee today. Orana (phonetic), a peasant, has been left in the Central Committee. Valdez too was elected to the Central Committee but not to the Political Bureau. It was the Party Congress that charged these people with neglect and changed the leadership. Seven of the old Central Committee members were elected but some of these seven belonged to the minority. Even these people are not in the Political Bureau or in leading positions. The present Central Committee is made up of 23 members.

"Now we need to conduct a vigorous membership campaign, which we will do. We have reorganized our newspaper, the "Voice of Mexico". We also started an educational campaign to strengthen the Party ideology. During the last few years there have been no state or national schools conducted by the Mexican Party. Until recently only one three months school was conducted by the Party leadership in the last 20 years. Now we have new rules and by-laws for the Party. We will soon call a Party conference to continue the discussion on political problems.

"The Congress was very important for the life of the Party. Up to the last Congress, there were no discussions in the state organizations of the Party, but now we have wide discussion. Many people who dropped away from the Party are rejoining and are endorsing the resolution. As a result of the 13th Congress of the CP of Mexico, a new mass magazine is being issued. Mass organizations too are being revived.

"We do have the problem of the leftists. We do have people who wanted to go to the hills and organize guerrillas. We had to defeat them, especially amongst the teachers. Some of these people are not members of the Party. Amongst the youth there are such tendencies also. They wanted to organize guerrilla bands and go to the hills. This was leading to a split. We therefore took stern measures. We organized the youth and prevented a split.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~TOP SECRET~~

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~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS BY RUDOLFO GHIOLDI OF THE CP  
OF ARGENTINA AND ARNOLDO MARTINEZ  
VERDUGO OF THE CP OF MEXICO AT A  
MEETING IN MOSCOW OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN LATIN AMERICA

"Toledano thought that he would profit from our internal situation. This is, as I said before, why he organized the new People's Socialist Party and he expected Communists would join it. But I can tell you that he has been disappointed. We now publicly discuss Toledano's plans and aims and when necessary we expose him. The United States and Mexican Governments had a plan to smash the railroad strike. They arrested all the leaders and they were especially after Vallejo (phonetic), but Toledano was against the general strike too. And even when 8,000 strikers were in jail, Toledano called for calmness instead of encouraging the strike to free Vallejo. Toledano accused the leaders of the strike movement of conspiring against the government. In other words, he used the same argument as the government itself. In the teachers' strike, that is when 23,000 teachers struck in the Federal District, a committee was elected and was recognized by the government. Later the government withdrew the recognition from the teachers. Toledano later met with the government about electing a new committee. Now you can understand why it is necessary for us to denounce the position of Toledano and win those masses that he influenced.

"In the last two years we were isolated from other Latin American Parties. We are correcting this. We appeal to you and to all the Parties of Latin America for help. We want to extend our thanks to the Cuban Party for giving us assistance, for giving us help, for helping us to resolve some of our political problems. Thank you comrades in Cuba."

This concluded the remarks of Arnolando Martinez Verdugo.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~



FBI

Date: 1/19/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SOLO  
 IS-C

Re New York airtel, 12/29/60, captioned "CP, USA, FUNDS (RESERVE FUND), IS-C", copies to SOLO files. Re airtel reflects that CG 5824-S\* received \$6,000 for the CP, USA from ALFRED K. STERN during the week of 12/11/60.

On 1/13/61, CG 5824-S\* furnished to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN additional information concerning his visit with ALFRED K. and MARTHA DODD STERN. This information appears on the following pages. Due to the nature of the information and the manner in which it was obtained, it is not being incorporated in a letterhead memorandum.

GALE

- 1-1243 *gal*  
 ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

JEK:ntb  
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-31

100-428091-1172

20 JAN 21 1961

cc Wick

cc Regan 1/21/61

HQS + HQS

Approved: *John H. Gale*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 FEB 10 1961 Special Agent in Charge



Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Callahan ✓  
 Mr. Conrad ✓  
 Mr. DeLoach ✓  
 Mr. Malone ✓  
 Mr. McGuire ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tavel ✓  
 Mr. Trotter ✓  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Ingram ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

*Res. Prague, Czech.*

*Cuba Mex. U.S. AIRMERS*

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
 ALFRED K. STERN AND  
 MARTHA DODD STERN

ALFRED STERN

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) was in Prague, Czechoslovakia on September 26, 1960. WEINSTOCK said that he was supposed to get some money for the CP, USA from ALFRED STERN but that STERN and his wife, MARTHA DODD STERN, were in China at that time.

VLADIMIR KOITSKI, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia, said during December, 1960, that ALFRED K. STERN is out of place in Czechoslovakia. While the government officials in Czechoslovakia try to humor STERN, who is supposed to be a building expert, actually he has nothing to do.

A visit was made to the residence of the STERNS on the evening of December 15, 1960. They live in a beautiful mansion outside of Prague. It was formerly a diplomat's residence and has been completely remodeled. The STERNS drive a Mercedes Benz.

MARTHA STERN, who is a beautiful woman, does some writing for a magazine published in East Germany. The English title of the magazine is "The Magazine." The wife of GERHART EISLER is the editor of this magazine.

ALFRED STERN knows that he is getting the run-around in Czechoslovakia. The STERNS said that they had seen ANIBAL ESCALANTE, a Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Socialist Party (PSP) of Cuba on December 14, 1960. They stated that they knew the leadership of the PSP when they resided in Mexico. They speak Spanish and hope some day, if things settle down, to go to Cuba. They feel that they could do some work in Cuba.

The STERNS are paying income tax to the United States Government. They said that they have paid some \$40,000 and owe another sum of \$40,000. They know that there is a secret indictment against them in the United States and that this indictment contains some twenty counts and may include a count for treason. So the question is why should they worry about paying income tax since they would be prosecuted anyway if they

100-428091-1172  
 ENCLOSURE

5-ETB

ever returned to the United States. MARTHA STERN, who is the stronger personality of the two, insists on paying the income tax. She said, "I do not feel that I am a spy. I work against fascism. They are not going to say that I dodged my taxes."

The STERNS have a son who is 15 years of age. He is having trouble getting acclimated in Czechoslovakia. Even his clothing is criticized by fellow students. After having studied English and Spanish he is having difficulty studying in Czechoslovakian schools.

The STERNS feel safe but not settled. Their manner of living is high class. Because of their class position and wealth, they are not accepted in Czechoslovakia.

The STERNS have made donations to women's organizations and peace organizations in Europe and China. They said that they made a small donation to ESCALANTE for the PSP. They will continue to make donations to the CP, USA and the PSP.

ALFRED STERN said that he still has some \$30,000 tied up in an insurance policy in the United States.

In a subsequent conversation in Prague with ANIBAL ESCALANTE, he confirmed that he had seen the STERNS. He said that he told them that the PSP would be glad to have them in Cuba after things settle down.



States Department of  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

REC-22  
REGISTERED

795  
Date: February 2, 1961  
To: Director, FBI (100-428091)  
From: Legat, Ottawa (105-684)  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBUlet 1-24-61.

Information contained in reBUlet was furnished  
orally to [redacted]  
[redacted] on 1-27-61.

The identities of the above individuals were furnished  
to the Bureau in the 6-10-60. [redacted]

[redacted] furnished the Bureau  
as an enclosure to my letter of the same caption dated 6-14-60.

2 - Bureau  
1 - Ottawa  
MLI:jhc  
(3)

63 FEB 20 1961

XEROX  
FEB 15 1961

EX-138

REC-22  
FEB 13 1961  
FEB 6 1961  
FEB 13 1961

Sec.  
100-428091-1173

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

F B I

Date: 1/30/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

On 1/25/61, the Chicago Office received through a blind post office box a number of items mailed from Moscow, Russia by CG 5824-S\* during his recent Solo trip. These items, all in the Spanish language, appear to have been prepared and issued by the Communist Party (CP) of Mexico. The items received are enumerated below:

1) A 22 page item entitled "Proyecto de Plataforma Politica del Partido Comunista Mexicano", which is dated 11/15/59 and appears to be a discussion bulletin.

2) A 16 page item entitled "Proyecto De Declaracion Programatica Del Partido Comunista Mexicano", dated 12/20/59, which appears to be a discussion bulletin issued by the Central Committee of the CP of Mexico.

3) A 62 page document entitled "Informe Del Comitè Central Ante El XIII Congreso Nacional Del Partido, Acerca Del Proyecto De Declaracion Programatica Del Partido Comunista Mexicano", prepared by MANUEL TERRAZAS. This item appears to relate to the 13th National Congress of the CP of Mexico, 5/27-31/60.

4) A 25 page document entitled "Acerca De La Situacion Politica Actual Y La Tactica Del Partido, Informe de la Comision Politica al primor punto de la Orden del Dia, presentado por el camarada, Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo". This item appears to deal with the statement of the Political Commission of the CP of Mexico at the 20th Plenum of the Central Committee, 7/30-31/60.

③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RWH:ntb

EX-134 REG-3

100-428091-1174  
FEB 2 1961

Approved: 2492/ey  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

CG 134-46 Sub B

5) An 11 page document entitled "Acerca De La Transformacion Del Partido Popular, Declaraciones de la Comision Politica del Comite Central del Partido Comunista Mexicano". This item is dated 10/11/60 and appears to have been issued by the Political Commission, Central Committee, CP of Mexico.

Request of the Bureau

The Bureau is requested to advise if it has received copies of the above enumerated documents relating to the CP of Mexico through sources available to the Legat, Mexico City. If such documents have not been received from the Legat, Mexico City, Chicago should be advised and these items will be immediately furnished to the Bureau for translation and review.

GALE

1 - Mr. Little  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

February 6, 1961

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

EX-134 REC-3

Director, FBI (100-428091)- 1174

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 1-30-61 which listed material obtained by CG 5824-S\* concerning the Communist Party of Mexico which the informant obtained during his recent Solo trip.

You are instructed to forward the material to the Bureau under the caption of the Communist Party of Mexico, Bufile 64-200-221. Incorporate in your letter of transmittal information from CG 5824-S\* showing details of how the material was obtained, the accessibility of the material and whether any action was taken on the Communist Party of Mexico's program by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Set out in your letter to the Bureau a request that the Legal Attache, Mexico City, be asked to review the material for the purpose of determining whether his sources have previously furnished the material and whether it has been incorporated in a report for dissemination.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Chicago airtel lists five items issued by the Communist Party of Mexico which concern that Party's political platform, projected program, 13th Congress, 20th Plenum of the Central Committee and Political Commission statement. The material is in the Spanish language and some of the documents number as many as 62 pages. It is felt that much of this material has previously been obtained by the Legal Attache in Mexico City through his sources. A review of the material by the Legal Attache, Mexico City, will most likely eliminate the necessity for extensive translation if it has previously been obtained and disseminated.

1 - 64-200-221 (Communist Party of Mexico)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo  
(6)

57 FEB 9 1961

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 64-200-221

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : A. H. Belmont *amb*

DATE: 2/4/61

FROM : C. G. Cusick *CC*SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

At 11:30 a.m. on 2/4/61 Special Agent [ ] of New York Office furnished the following information:

Informant 694-S met Vladimir Barkovsky last evening. Gave to Soviet Communist Party, USA, documents concerning recent Communist Party National Committee meeting. Said documents reduced to microfilm. Barkovsky insisted that informant move his office to area of lower Broadway and Wall Street. Was not satisfied with any areas proposed by informant. Barkovsky desires informant to set up new office by 3/1/61 in Broadway-Wall Street area. Barkovsky set up meeting with informant for 2/5/61 at 4:00 p.m. in Queens, New York. If weather permits, meeting will take place. Otherwise meeting will be postponed to 2/12/61. Bureau will be kept advised.

ACTION:

Special Agent [ ] advised he would supplement above with airtel on Monday, 2/6/61.

100-428091

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Cusick

*ew*  
 CGC:bar  
 (4) *bar*

REC-86

100-428091-1176

FEB 7 1961

EX-102

99  
 52 FEB 9 1961

Mr. A. H. Belmont

February 2, 1961

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
1 - Mr. Ruehl  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE - "MEANING  
OF NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

Re memorandum DeLoach to Belmont 1-27-61, same caption.

Jay Lovestone, Executive Secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on 1-21-61 and expressed his opinions and evaluations on the recent statement of the 81 communist and workers' parties which met in November and December, 1960, in Moscow, Russia.

Soviet Premier Khrushchov is considered by Lovestone to be the victor at this Moscow Conference over his chief opponent MAO Tse-tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China. He testified that the "Moscow Manifesto" is offensive in spirit and displays arrogant self-confidence. He proposes that the Moscow Conference was for the purpose of cementing the ranks of world communism with a view of stepping up the communist drive for conquering the world.

Lovestone minimizes the ideological differences between Russia and China and calls their differences a power struggle within the international communist movement. He stated this has come about due to the great power position China has established in Asia.

The "Moscow Manifesto" is referred to by Lovestone as the sharpest declaration of war ever adopted by an international communist gathering against the United States. He said coexistence, as elaborated, explained and advanced in the Manifesto, is not a goal of genuine peace but only a treacherous weapon to be employed for furthering the interest of Soviet imperialism in its drive for world conquest and communist enslavement of the entire human race.

OBSERVATIONS:

The testimony of Lovestone provides no information which was not previously available through our informants.

ACTION:

57 FEB 10 1961 79  
None. For information.

100-428091-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 FEB 10 1961

66-88217

1 - 65-52604 (CPUSA and CPC Conflict)

1 - 100-428091 (Solo)

JWL:kmo (11)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 1, 1961

FROM : Mr. R. O. L'Allier *L'*SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Referral/Consult

[redacted] has been reviewed  
 by the Internal Security Section. It is prepared in such a way that  
 our highly sensitive source, CG 5824-S\*, is well protected [redacted]

100-428091

Enclosure

ENCLOSURE

REC-34  
EX-108

FEB 7 1961

1 - Mr. Parsons  
 1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. L'Allier  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Liaison  
 1 - Mr. LaPrade  
 1 - Mr. Papich

51 FEB 10 1961  
 SJP:KMB  
 (8)

3-jwd

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

The highly secret document which our informant obtained in Moscow was available for reading to all delegations in attendance at the Moscow Conference during November, 1960. After reading, the document had to be returned to the Soviets; however, our informant surreptitiously retained the document long enough to copy it. It is felt that since the document was available for reading to a great number of people, our source is protected and also there were six representatives from the Communist Party, USA, in Moscow.

We have disseminated a summary of this document to top officials of the Government. The entire document has been disseminated on a top secret basis to all appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

ACTION:

Referral/Consult

*Jul*  
*POB*  
*Jul* *G. G. G.* *OK* *Q*

*Buckingham advised*  
*per above*  
*2/2/61*  
*POB*

~~SECRET~~  
2  
~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Moscow Reaffirms Its Positions, November 1960

On 5 November 1960 the Soviet party replied formally to the Chinese party's letter of 10 September. There is at hand what purports to be and seems genuinely to be, virtually the complete text of this letter, less certain details illustrating some of the letter's points. In this section of this paper, devoted entirely to the 5 November letter, the document is treated as authentic, with the proviso that double translation may have somewhat distorted some of the formulations hereinafter quoted.

The letter began with the charge that the Chinese letter of 10 September did not really answer the Soviet letter of 21 June. Conceding that differences between the Soviet and Chinese parties had arisen prior to 1960, it argued that before 1960--specifically, in summer 1958 and fall 1959 when Khrushchev had visited Peiping--the parties had discussed these issues frankly. In 1960, however, after rejecting a Soviet bid in March for bilateral talks, the CCP in April had published the series of Lenin Anniversary articles attacking Soviet positions; and, after rejecting another Soviet invitation in May for talks, the CCP had launched its "open attack" on the CPSU, bringing the issues into "non-party organizations" (the fronts).

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1187

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-2-

The Soviet party, the letter went on, had felt obliged to inform the world Communist movement of Peiping's behavior, and the Chinese party had been given an opportunity to state its case at the Bucharest conference. "All" the parties at Bucharest, the letter contended, had disapproved Chinese "methods"; the letter did not assert, as Suslov and Kozlov in October had not, that all the parties supported Moscow on all of the substantive issues in dispute.

Rather than responding in an "objective" way to the Soviet letter of 21 June (the one used to brief other parties at the Bucharest conference), the letter continued, the Chinese party had continued to raise issues and behave obstructively at Bucharest. Moreover, the Chinese letter of 10 September indicated that the CCP did not intend to heed the opinion of the "absolute majority" of the other parties. Further, whereas the Soviet letter of 21 June had taken a "comradely" tone, the CCP's 10 September letter had an "uncomradely," overwrought and "overbearing" tone--indeed, the most "outrageous" tone anyone had taken toward the CPSU since the days of the Trotskyites.

The Soviet letter of 5 November went on to rebuke the CCP for resurrecting such "settled" questions as deStalinization and intrabloc relations in 1956, and for making the "monstrous" charge in its 10 September letter that the CPSU had departed from Marxist-Leninism. It reiterated the charge that the Chinese had indoctrinated foreign Communists visiting Peiping in the hope of splitting other Communist parties. Moreover,

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-3-

the letter asserted, CCP leaders were indoctrinating the entire body of the Chinese body in a spirit of hostility to the Soviet party. The section of the letter concluded with the warning that the Chinese party bore "full responsibility for the grave consequences" of its actions.

The Soviet letter then turned to the Chinese charge that the Soviet party was "embellishing" imperialism. At this point, in an aggrieved but defensive tone, the Soviet letter offered evidence at some length that the Soviet party had consistently "exposed" imperialism and adopted policies to weaken imperialism. In this connection, the letter went on, it was a "slander" to contend that the Soviet party was "flirting" with imperialism merely because Khrushchev had spoken favorably of President Eisenhower; Khrushchev's remarks, the letter contended, had had a diplomatic objective. The letter went on to emphasize that Khrushchev was not acting independently of the CPSU presidium, and to praise Khrushchev's "supreme devotion" to Marxism-Leninism and his "unflagging efforts" at home and abroad.

The Soviet letter of 5 November then turned to the contention--which had appeared early in the CCP letter of 10 September--that the CCP had induced the CPSU to adopt correct policies during the developments in Poland and Hungary in fall 1956. Contrary to the Chinese assertions, the letter said, Mao in 1956 had been willing to see Soviet troops used in Poland but had been irresolute with respect to the use of Soviet troops

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-4-

in Hungary.\* Further, it was not true, as the CCP's 10 September letter had charged, that Moscow in 1956 had wished to convoke a world Communist meeting to condemn Poland.

The Soviet letter, remarking that the events in Eastern Europe in 1956 had been one result of Stalin's mistakes, then took up the Chinese criticism of deStalinization. Whereas everyone had assumed that the CCP endorsed Soviet action against the "personality cult,"\*\* the Chinese now in 1960 had resurrected the entire issue. The letter at this point reiterated the Soviet party's rationale for its re-evaluation of Stalin.

The Soviet letter of 5 November then turned to the substantive questions in the Sino-Soviet dispute on world Communist strategy. It began by asserting flatly that the CCP was "mistaken" on "fundamental questions," i.e. the character of the present epoch, of war and peace, "peaceful coexistence," and the "transition to socialism."

With respect to the first question, the letter reiterated the Soviet position that the world socialist system was becoming the "decisive factor" in world affairs, that the bloc's

\*The Soviet letter probably misrepresents the Chinese position to some degree here, as has frequently been the case with both parties in these exchanges. Chinese pronouncements in fall 1956 strongly suggested that the CCP did not favor Soviet military intervention in Poland but did favor it--at about the same time the Soviet party decided on it--in Hungary, i.e. as soon as the Hungarian government indicated its intention to leave the Bloc.

\*\*This clearly is a misrepresentation; the CCP's long commentary on this issue in April 1956 made clear that the Chinese had important reservations about the Soviet handling of the matter.

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-5-

strength permitted the conclusion that war was no longer inevitable. It went on to specify that this formulation meant that the West was, and would increasingly be, deterred from general war.

As for the other half of the Soviet position on the nature of the epoch--namely, that the West is still militarily and economically so strong that it is advisable (as well as possible) for the Bloc to seek its gains by non-military means--the letter dealt with this in terms of rejecting Mao's formulation that the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind.\* The letter observed sharply that Mao's phrase, "probably advanced with the pretension" of adding to Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in fact had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The letter then turned explicitly to questions of war. It reaffirmed that the Soviet party recognized the possibility of war (kind unspecified) so long as imperialism exists, but argued that war could be prevented--as witness events since 1956 in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, and Cuba. It reiterated that it was now more difficult for the West to undertake wars of any kind than it had been, and it reaffirmed the Soviet view that local wars in general should be avoided,

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\*The Chinese have used this formulation to imply that Bloc military strength is much greater than that of the West, an assessment which underlies their advocacy of an extremely militant revolutionary program. Khrushchev has usually preferred not to assert bloc military superiority, often employing the formula that the bloc is "at least as strong" as the West.

~~TOP SECRET~~

-6-

owing to the danger of their expansion. The letter described the Chinese attitude toward local wars--i.e., Peiping's slighting of the possibility of their expansion--as "extremely dangerous."

The Soviet letter expressed agreement with the Chinese position that it was necessary to speak separately of one category of local wars, namely "revolutionary wars of liberation" in colonial areas. Such wars, the letter said, were indeed "permissible and inevitable," and were going on now in Algeria (a colonial area) and in Cuba (which Moscow and Peiping used to include in the "semi-colonial" areas, i.e. areas indirectly under imperialist control). The Soviet attitude toward such wars were described as "positive." The letter again evaded the question of the degree of bloc support for such wars, contenting itself with defending the use of various means--including diplomacy--to deter the West from wars, the implication being that the West was deterred from a greater effort in Algeria and from military action against Castro.

The Soviet letter then returned to the question of assessing the balance of power and took up the related question of the consequences of general war. It reiterated Soviet criticism of Mao's "paper tiger" concept, on the ground that this concept encouraged complacency (meaning really, adventurism). The letter cited Mao's contention at the November 1957 conference of the parties that in a general war "at most half"



~~TOP SECRET~~

-7-

of mankind would die, that imperialism would be wiped out and socialism triumphant everywhere, and that population losses would eventually be restored; the letter also cited the Chinese argument that victorious socialism could rapidly rebuild a greatly superior civilization on the ruins. The Soviet letter rejected the notion of presenting such a concept to the "masses," and it stated flatly: "Contemporary imperialism is not a 'paper tiger.'" General war, it went on, would exterminate hundreds of millions of people, entail "untold" destruction of productive forces, and make "extremely difficult" the building of the new society. This section of the letter concluded with the assertions that socialism can achieve a world-wide triumph without general war and that the people must be told "plainly and honestly" of the existing danger.\*

Passing on to the question of "peaceful coexistence," the Soviet letter of 5 November interpreted the Chinese letter of 10 September as favoring this concept but disagreeing on the proper interpretation of it. The letter rejected the Chinese contention that there had not been "peaceful coexistence" in the years since World War II; the letter cited successes in stopping "a number of local wars."

The letter went on to defend briefly Soviet policies toward the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the underdeveloped countries. The Chinese were again charged with underestimating

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\*In the context, this presumably refers to the dreadful consequences of general war.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
-8-

the degree and importance of conflicts between these countries and the West.

Still following the organization of the 21 June letter and (approximately) of the 10 September Chinese letter, the 5 November letter then took up the question of negotiations with the West, specifically in terms of disarmament. The Soviet use of the disarmament issue, the letter contended, was an essential part of the concept of "peaceful coexistence." It would not do to hand this issue over to the imperialists. Moreover, the Chinese were mistaken in contending that the achievement of some degree of disarmament would not free funds for underdeveloped countries, as the USSR planned to do just that as part of the program of seducing such countries. The letter denied that Moscow planned to have a "world without arms", as the Soviet plan envisaged militia in every state. Reaching farther, the Soviet letter argued that disarmament would help to correct the weapons imbalance between the imperialists and the workers, the imperialist oppressors and the colonial liberation forces. The letter conceded again the difficulty of reaching a disarmament agreement, but reaffirmed this as a long-term goal.

Turning then to the question of the "transition to socialism"--i.e., ~~xxx~~ accession to power by Communist parties--the Soviet letter rejected the Chinese charge that Khrushchev had a "non-revolutionary" point of view on this. The letter contended (correctly) that Khrushchev had simply said that

~~TOP SECRET~~  
-9-

violence would not always be necessary, and it reviewed Soviet statements on this point. It specified that the Soviet concept was not the "revisionist" notion of simply winning a parliamentary majority, but rather using the parliament as one of the means of establishing a proletarian dictatorship. The letter went on to reject the charge that the Soviet party had "evaded" key questions relating to the establishment of Communist power.

The Soviet letter continued its discussion of this question with the contention that a proper understanding of the balance of forces--the same considerations which permitted the thesis of the non-inevitability of wars--applied to the possibility of peaceful accession to power. That is, bloc military and economic power would increasingly influence the people of the world, increasingly strengthen the local Communist parties, and increasingly deter imperialist interference in the affairs of any people carrying out a revolution. Replying to the Chinese assertion that the concept of "peaceful" accession was acceptable as a tactic but not as a genuine expectation, the Soviet letter reaffirmed that the Soviet party and its supporters did indeed expect this to happen "in a number of countries." The CCP was rebuked for having insisted that this was never possible.

~~TOP SECRET~~

-10-

Departing from the organization of the 21 June letter and of the 10 September letter, the Soviet letter of 5 November did not treat separately the question of the use of the world Communist fronts but included this question in the larger category of "questions"--i.e., the discipline--of the world Communist movement. This section began by rejecting the Chinese contention--not previously known--that there was "ideological discord" within the movement as a whole. There was no general discord, the letter went on, there was only Chinese dogmatism and obstructionism. The letter reiterated that revisionism in the bloc was routed, whereas dogmatism and sectarianism existed and must be combatted. Countering the Chinese charge of "bourgeois" influence on the Soviet party, the letter observed loftily that "dogmatism as we know is a result of petty bourgeois influence," and that the source of "sectarianism" was political immaturity. There was apparently much embroidery of this theme.

As for the Chinese charge that Moscow wanted everyone to be a blind adherent to Soviet experience, the Soviet letter of 5 November declared that the Soviet party "respected everything new" contributed by other parties (without specifying any contributions), but went on to assert that there could not be a "Russian" Marxism or "Chinese" Marxism or "Indian" Marxism or any other kind of national Marxism. The letter rebuked the Chinese for having contended (in January 1960) that Mao "Sinocized" Marxism.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~-11-~~

This section of the letter concluded by remarking the Chinese tendency to claim the role of "sole defenders and interpreters" of Marxism-Leninism, to have a monopoly on developing this body of thought, and to have the right to excommunicate those who disagreed. Judging from the Chinese press, the letter said, "after Lenin there appeared a chasm,...filled only by the works of the Chinese comrades."

Taking up the question of work in the world Communist fronts, the letter agreed that there certainly were differences in the Soviet and Chinese views, but it rejected the notion that the difference lay in whether the fronts were to be fighting organizations. Of course they were, the letter said; the question was how to wage the fight. The letter reiterated that it was counterproductive to "impose alien tasks and slogans," and it gave a number of instances of such Chinese action. The letter argued reasonably that the Chinese course would enlist only those who already entirely agreed with the Communist position, and thus would defeat the purpose of the fronts. The letter was particularly sharp in its rebuke of the "shameful and inadmissible" Chinese attacks on Soviet efforts to attract--in the fronts--representatives of "national liberation movements," including "bourgeois" figures.

Turning to the question of relations among the Communist parties, the letter began with the observation that the Chinese desire for "unity" was not supported by practical deeds.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~-12-~~

After the Bucharest conference, the letter went on, the Chinese had continued to ignore majority opinion and to circulate documents among other parties. Here the letter insisted at some length that the "unity" of the world Communist movement <sup>demand?</sup> depended respect for the opinion of the majority, and it apparently invoked the Leninist principle (in intraparty affairs) of carrying out the party's decision even if one does not agree with it.

The letter went on to reject the Chinese charge that the Soviet party violated the principle of "equality" among parties, and observed that this charge was a screen for the CCP's own violations of "equality and comradely cooperation." Following Khrushchev's line at the meeting of 22 October, the letter dispensed with the concept of "leaders and led" in the world Communist movement, asserting that the CPSU had rejected this concept as long ago as the 21st Congress. Indeed, the letter continued, <sup>if</sup> gaining momentum, /there was anyone who showed a tendency to occupy a special position in the movement and to "abuse the trust" of fraternal parties, it was the Chinese comrades. According to the Chinese, the letter went on, the Soviet party had made one mistake after another since 1956, but now the CCP's April 1960 articles had brought clarity out of confusion. Confusion indeed existed, the letter said, but in the minds of those who wrote the articles.

~~TOP SECRET~~

-13-

Taking up the final question of relations between the two governments, the letter set forth the record of Soviet political, military and economic support of Peiping, and rejected the charge of having conducted an anti-Chinese campaign. Anyhow, the CCP started it, the letter said, with its April 1960 articles and its behavior at the WFTU meeting in June. The letter professed indignation at the charge that Soviet aid was being used as a means of pressure (i.e. the withdrawal of the technicians). The letter observed that Soviet aid to China--much more extensive than simply the technicians--had been given China at the cost of depriving the deserving Soviet consumer, and it remarked at this point that, while Peiping had sent goods in exchange, the USSR "really had no use for them" and had taken them only to help the Chinese. The letter summed up Soviet scientific and technological aid--in the form of documents, designs, drawings, and specifications--to Peiping as having been worth six billion rubles, plus the "43 years' experience" accumulated by Soviet personnel who had prepared them, plus the assignment of specialists needed in the USSR itself. In the past this had been much appreciated, but now the Chinese party was minimizing it. The letter at this point emitted a shriek of outrage at Chinese remarks to the effect that the truth could not be bought and that Peiping would not trade its principles for technicians. The letter reviewed the Soviet reasons--obviously insufficient in themselves--for withdrawing the technicians.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~-14-~~

The letter concluded, as had the 10 September Chinese letter, with an expression of desire for "unity," and it warned again against actions weakening or breaking this unity. The Soviet party and other parties, it said, were "seriously alarmed" by Chinese actions of this kind. Moreover, the world Communist movement was not going to wait for the "verdict of history."

By this time (early November), both the Soviet and Chinese parties had gone to much effort to encourage the view that neither would back down in the Moscow conference, even if this meant the separation (voluntary or involuntary) of the Chinese party from the world Communist movement. In other words, the two parties were playing "chicken"--and it was not known whether either was willing to swerve at the last moment.



1 - Mr. LaPrade

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

February 8, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The Bureau feels that the recent Solo mission of CG 5824-S\* was unusually productive. This mission provided an extensive volume of highly valuable intelligence information. It is apparent this was accomplished as a result of extreme sacrifice on the part of the informant. It is also apparent that the personnel of your office participating in this operation have played an important part in this accomplishment and they have handled in an excellent manner the valuable intelligence information provided.

You should carefully analyze this matter and furnish the Bureau with your recommendations as to appropriate recognition for CG 5824-S\* and the personnel of your office.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

The eighth Solo mission of CG 5824-S\* lasted from 9-22-60 to 12-17-60. The informant, as a representative of the Communist Party, USA, attended secret meetings in the Kremlin for a period in excess of two months. Extensive valuable intelligence information was provided as a result of this mission. The informant was able to record a day-by-day detailed account of all the secret meetings held in the Kremlin. One highly important document obtained by the informant was a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated 11-5-60 which sets out point-by-point the deep-seated ideological differences existing between Russia and Red China. This 46-page document was surreptitiously obtained and copied by our informant. This action and the high volume of material brought out of Russia by the informant evidence extreme risk. The indoctrination of the informant for this mission and the compilation of the intelligence information developed by personnel of the Chicago Office was handled in an excellent manner and made possible expeditious dissemination at the Seat of Government to top officials of the Government and to appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo

(4)

EX 101

MAILED 27

FEB - 7 1961

COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

19 FEB 8 1961

5.T.  
wa  
Mr. A. H. Belmont

February 7, 1961

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE - "MEANING  
OF NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

1 - Mr. Parsons  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
1 - Mr. Ruehl  
1 - Mr. LaPrade

Re memorandum DeLoach to Belmont 2-3-61, same caption.

It will be recalled that Jay Lovestone, Executive Secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee, American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations, testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on 1-21-61 and expressed his opinions and evaluations on the recent statement of the 81 communist and workers' parties which met during November and December, 1960, in Moscow, Russia. This testimony was the subject of my memorandum dated 2-2-61.

On 2-2-61 Lovestone resumed his testimony by touching only briefly on the "Moscow Manifesto." He then aired his opinions on a variety of subjects.

#### Moscow Leadership of Communist Parties

Soviet Premier Khrushchev desires to hide Moscow domination of world communism as a means of legal protection of communist parties in capitalist countries but all communist parties still follow Moscow. Leadership of Soviet means giving direction in which the party is to travel and seeing to it that the party echoes and supports every move made by the Russians.

#### Food for China

In the event the United States receives a request for food from China, Lovestone testified he is in favor of assistance under the formula of former President Herbert Hoover which would be to set up an independent American agency. This agency would go to China and supply food to people regardless of their political opinion and party affiliation.

#### Admission of Red China to United Nations

Admission of Red China to the United Nations would be a major disaster to our country as China would then gain control of the Afro-Asian bloc as all smaller countries would capitulate. It would

51-55815-1961

1-55-52604 (CPSU and CPC Conflict)

1-100-428091 (Solo)

NY:slm (11)

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

176 FEB 10 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-88217-2785

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL  
SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE - "MEANING  
OF NEW COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"  
66-88217

be a catastrophe for our country to, in effect, help reduce differences between Moscow and Peiping by admission of Red China to the United Nations. It is interesting to note that Lovestone, in his testimony on 1-21-61, minimized the ideological differences between Russia and China.

#### Future Concentration of Communist Party, USA

The Communist Party, USA, will emphasize the so-called economic unemployment. It will push the peace slogan of Soviet Russia and will insist on banning atomic tests. It will also push for an elimination of the so-called cold war. Such a policy will penetrate quite a number of well-meaning intellectual circles and public-spirited groups. Lovestone pointed out, however, that it should be kept in mind that peaceful coexistence is for the purpose of subversion.

#### Way to Peace

Lovestone testified that peace can be obtained only through power. He stated that people of the world depend upon the strength of our country and the loyalty and cooperation of our allies depend upon our strength first and foremost.

#### Policy Advocated

Lovestone says our policy should be one of polite words which makes demands upon the Russians; and on the colonial question, we should turn it on them to show that Russia is the largest colonial power in existence today. Through the United States Information Agency we should exploit the United States workers' obtaining more compensation unemployed than skilled Russian workers while employed. We should expose the corruption in the Russian bureaucratic system and show the world our free system is superior through facts and figures. We must be firm and not give an inch in situations such as Berlin.

#### OBSERVATION:

The testimony of Lovestone provides no new intelligence information.

#### ACTION:

None. For information.

FBI

Date: 2/6/61

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/31/61. This information pertains to requests to the CP, USA by JOHN and MARGARETE PITTMAN who are currently in Russia.

1 + encl 1243 jwr  
③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
(5)

REC-7

FX - 138

100-428091-1179

16 FEB 8 1961

3 ENCLOSURE

CC - Wick

99  
Approved: [Signature]  
63 FEB 13 1961 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

REQUESTS TO THE CP, USA  
FROM JOHN AND MARGARET  
PITTMAN, MOSCOW, RUSSIA

In November, 1960, JOHN and MARGARET PITTMAN, members of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), temporarily residing at Moscow, Russia, submitted several requests to the CP, USA through an American delegate who had attended the November, 1960 meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties.

Among these requests was one that they be kept in good standing in the Party. Another request was to determine if their income tax status was all right.

They also requested that certain supplies like scotch tape and staples be sent to them. They also wanted copies of two newly released books, one authored by Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS and the other by AVERELL HARRIMAN, which dealt with their recent visits to the U.S.S.R. and Asian countries.

The matter of the PITTMANs' requests for supplies and books was subsequently discussed in the United States with LOUIS WEINSTOCK, the General Manager, "The Worker", who felt that this matter could be worked out with the "People's World".

100-428091-1177

ENCLOSURE - 1 -

- Mr. LaPrade

SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)

February 8, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

**SOLO**

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 2-1-61 which listed material CG 5824-S\* has mailed to mail drop addresses in various countries.

You are instructed to obtain from CG 5824-S\*, at an opportune time in the near future, a current detailed listing of all mail drop addresses in foreign countries used by the informant in behalf of the Communist Party, USA.

MAILED 30

FEB 8 - 1961

COMM-FBI

REC-46

EX-119

19 FEB 9 1961

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JWL:kmo

52 FEB 10 1961

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub F)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

DATE: January 31, 1961

*pr*  
Rebulet 5/4/60 instructing that details concerning disbursements of funds in the possession of CG 5824-S\* be submitted to the Bureau by the fifth of the month following the month being reported.

There were no transactions involving the funds in the possession of CG 5824-S\* during the month of January, 1961. The balance in possession of CG 5824-S\* remains as it was as of November 1, 1960. This figure is \$103,445.00.

- ② - Bureau (RM)(AM)
- 1 - Chicago
- RWH:LMA
- (3)

EX-121

REC-46

EX-121

100-428091-1181  
FEB 2 1961

*Memo Concerning to Belmont*  
*2-8-61 744 lma*  
*94* 63 FEB 13 1961

*FILE* *SEC*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 2/6/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub A)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Records of the NYO reflect that as of 1/31/61, transactions in the SOLO account reported by NY 694-S\* since the date of the last accounting have been as follows:

Credit

On hand 12/31/60 \$59,521.00

Debit

To GUS HALL for use of CP National Office 1,000.00  
1/4/61

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office 1,000.00  
1/5/61

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office 8,000.00  
1/20/61

To GUS HALL for use of CP National Office 1,500.00  
1/26/61

To ISADORE WOFSY for use of CP National Office 1,000.00  
1/30/61

To PEGGY DENNIS for hospital expenses of EUGENE DENNIS 1,000.00  
1/31/61

TOTAL \$13,500.00

Balance

1/31/61 \$46,021.00

- 2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
- 1-Chicago (134-46-Sub F) (SOLO FUNDS) (INFO) (RM)
- 1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-128861 (CPUSA-FUNDS-RESERVE FUNDS) (415)
- 1-NY 100-134637-Sub A (41)

ACB:ume  
(6)

57 FEB 13 1961

RECORDED

REC-46

\$46,021.00

100-428091-1182

13 FEB 8 1961

INT. SEC.

*Handwritten notes:*  
2-8-61  
777 Lines



F B I

Date: 1/16/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith to the Bureau, 7 copies and to the New York Division, 1 copy of a letterhead memorandum containing information concerning the existence of an international Communist cadre training school in Moscow, Russia. CG 5824-S\* obtained the details concerning this school from PHYLLIS CLARKE of the CP of Canada, who is currently attending this school. This information was obtained from PHYLLIS CLARKE in 11/60 in Moscow, Russia. The information from MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN was also furnished only to CG 5824-S\*.

The very nature of the information in the letterhead memorandum tends to disclose CG 5824-S\* as the source thereof. To fully protect the identity of the informant, a recommended classification of "secret" has been placed on the letterhead memorandum. The Bureau may desire to change the classification to "top secret". The place of issue has been reflected as Washington, D.C., to further protect CG 5824-S\*.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was furnished by CG 5824-S\* to SAs JOHN E. KEATING and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/13/61.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 7) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (AM) (RM) (RRR)  
100-134637 (SOLO)  
1 - Chicago

JEK:jem  
(5)

GALE REC-31

59 FEB 16 1961

FEB 8 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-428091

Washington, D. C.  
January 16, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXISTENCE OF INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNIST CADRE TRAINING  
SCHOOL IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information.

It has been learned from a person in a position to know, that there is currently in existence in Moscow, Russia, an international cadre training school. While this is a Russian school, two thirds of the 300 students are not Russian. There are no students from either the United States or Great Britain. There are approximately six students from Australia. Among other countries represented are France, Italy and India. There are also students from Africa.

MR/MRS There are four students from Canada. These are: Phyllis Clarke, wife of Nelson Clarke, member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Canada; Sam Walsh, member of the National Executive Committee of the CP of Canada; Charles Caron and Norman Brudy, both members of the National Committee of the CP of Canada.

CANADA?

RUSSIA

Each student is scheduled to attend the school for two years. There is an English speaking section but after six months, all classes will be conducted in Russian. Russian is the basic language and all students have to study it. The courses include Marxism-Leninism, tactics, and labor history. The school is similar to the Lenin School but is more Russian.

This school is designed to train Communist cadres. It is a relatively new school and some of the students are complaining that the teachers, all of whom are Russian, are not good, because they do not know what is going on outside Russia. As far as the world outside of Russia is concerned, all they know is what they have read. The

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-1183

EXISTENCE OF INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNIST CADRE TRAINING  
SCHOOL IN MOSCOW, RUSSIA

~~SECRET~~

intention is to enlarge the school in the future. Eventually the number of students may be double the present enrollment of 300.

*RUSSIA*  
Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) and Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin, who is in charge of the United States in the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, have indicated that they would like a couple of young people from the CP, USA to attend this school. *RUSSIA*

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 2/6/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

On 2/3/61, NY 694-S advised SA [redacted] that pursuant to arrangements previously made between CG 5824-S and VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY, the NY informant met BARKOVSKY at 7 p.m. on 2/3/61, outside the Townhouse Restaurant in Queens, NY. From there they proceeded via subway, NY 694-S following BARKOVSKY, to 75th St. in Kew Gardens, where they went to Topsey's Restaurant at Queens Blvd., and 75th Road.

On account of blizzard conditions, the meeting of the informant and BARKOVSKY was of short duration. NY 694-S delivered to the Soviet, on microfilm, a number of CP documents pertaining to the recent CP National Committee meeting.

The conversation concerned the necessity of the informant's moving his office from the present location in the Flatiron Building at 23rd St. BARKOVSKY would not approve any of the areas suggested by NY 694-S, and insisted that the new office be located in the lower Broadway area, in the general vicinity of Wall St. and the Battery. BARKOVSKY further insisted that NY 694-S make every effort to move to a new location by 3/1/61. NY 694-S told BARKOVSKY that to do so would be difficult, but that he would do his best.

BARKOVSKY then made arrangements for a further meeting with NY 694-S. He said that, unless weather conditions prevented, NY 694-S, on Sunday, 2/5/61, should drive a Hertz car, which the informant had rented pursuant to BARKOVSKY's instructions, to the intersection of Kissena Blvd. and Jewel

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
 1-Chicago (134-46) (CG 5824-S) (INFO) (RM)  
 1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)  
 1-NY 65-15026 (VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY) (341)  
 1-NY 100-134637 (41)

59 FEB 13 1961

FEB 9 1961

ACB:ume  
 Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (9) Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

cc - BAUMGARDNER

NY 100-134637

Road, Queens, arriving there at 4 p.m. BARKOVSKY would "spot" the informant at that point. NY 694-S was then to make a right turn into Jewel Road and continue on Jewel Road to 188th St. and Jewel Road. BARKOVSKY estimated that the informant would arrive at this location at 4:20 p.m. From this point NY 694-S was to proceed down 188th St., past Horace Harding Blvd., to 64th Ave., where a shopping center is located. At 64th Ave., the informant was to "go around a semi-circle" and drive into the shopping center parking lot, where BARKOVSKY would approach him, if advisable.

In the event that weather conditions prevented, this meeting was to be postponed until the following Sunday, 2/12/61, and the same arrangements should be followed.

(On 2/4/61, NY 694-S advised that in view of the fact that on 2/3/61, he had to abandon the Hertz car in a snow drift, and further in view of an order from the City Government that passenger cars were banned from the streets, he would make no attempt to meet BARKOVSKY on 2/5/61, but would meet the latter, if possible, on the alternate date of 2/12/61).

In view of the nature of the above information, a letterhead memorandum is not being submitted.

FBI

Date: 2/1/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 1/31/61, CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA RICHARD W. HANSEN that 3 copies of the book "Economic Forces in the United States, In Fact and Figures", printed in 5/60 by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., have been secured. These publications contained non-classified statistical data.

Copies of this book are being mailed on 2/1/61 by CG 5824-S\* to mail drop addresses in the possession of CG 5824-S\* in Peking, China; Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Moscow, Russia.

In addition, a copy of an editorial entitled "Notes of the Month, An Editorial, The New Administration" is also being dispatched air mail to the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through a mail drop address on instructions of GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA. The contents of this item are set forth verbatim in Chicago airtel to Director captioned "'Political Affairs', IS-C", and its enclosed letterhead memorandum, dated 1/31/61. The editorial is scheduled to be published in the 2/61 edition of "Political Affairs".

The above is being furnished for the information of the Bureau.

99 59 FEB 13 1961

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (RM)  
1 - Chicago  
RWH:ntb  
(5)

EX 101

REC-71

GALE

10 FEB 6 1961

Approved: 948/07

Special Agent in Charge

Sent 948/07

C. G. Wick

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 2, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The material provided by our informant CG 5824-S\* as a result of the eighth Solo mission has been reanalyzed regarding the extent of our dissemination. All pertinent material has been disseminated to top officials of the Government in summary form when the information warranted such dissemination. Details of all material have been disseminated on a top secret basis to all appropriate Government intelligence agencies.

It is now felt that one of the documents containing the contents of a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) dated 11-5-60 can be furnished on a top secret basis to [redacted] through our Legal Attache in London. This document contains highly valuable information relating directly to the differences existing between China and Russia. We have previously made available to [redacted] a document which contained a letter of the CPSU dated 6-21-60 on this matter. The 11-5-60 document is a follow-up which makes more complete the picture of the Sino-Soviet differences.

The 11-5-60 document obtained by our informant in Moscow was available for reading by all delegations in attendance at the Moscow Conference during November, 1960. After reading, the document had to be returned to the Soviets; however, our informant surreptitiously retained the document long enough to copy it. There were six delegates from the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) in attendance at the Moscow Conference who had an opportunity to read the document along with other delegates from various countries. Five of the six CPUSA delegates have now returned to this country. The availability of the document to an extensive number of people and the return of the CPUSA delegates to this country minimize the possibility of jeopardizing our informant by dissemination at this time of the document to the British.

## ACTION:

If you agree, the 11-5-60 document containing a letter of the CPSU will be transmitted to our Legal Attache in London to be made available to his source in [redacted] on a top secret basis.

100-428091

JWL:kmo  
(6)

62 FEB 14 1961

2-861

REC-71

100-428091 FEB 10 1961

5-JWL

DIRECTOR, FBI

February 1, 1961

LEGAT, LONDON(100-2448)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE,  
MOSCOW, RUSSIA, November 10 to  
December 1, 1960  
(SINO-SOVIET DIFFERENCES) *SOLO*

There is enclosed a Secret report furnished to this office by [redacted]

[redacted] concerning the above subject. [redacted] referred to information made available to [redacted] by the Bureau concerning the conflict between Russian and Chinese Communists. (Refer to Durable 10/31/60, entitled, Communist Party, USA, International Activities).

b7D

[redacted] stated that this Bureau information had been of the greatest value to [redacted] in its study of Sino-Soviet relations. He also advised that [redacted] would appreciate receiving any other information available to the Bureau in this matter.

RUC

5 - Bureau (Enc. 1)  
1 - London

CWB:ec  
(6)

100-428021-  
NOT RECORDED  
46 FEB 28 1961

47  
63 MAR 1 1961

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-52604-26



FBI

Date: 2/6/61

REC-71

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

Re Chicago airtel, 9/1/60.

On 1/31/61, CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on the following page to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information concerns one (FNU) NESTER, Aka. Todar Lambef Schaapchieff, the stepfather of DOROTHY HEALEY.

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
 (5)

3 ENCLOSURE

REC-71

100-428091-1187

16 FEB 8 1961

F C C Wick

EX-102

INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 FEB 14 1961

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
(FNU) NESTER, Aka.  
Todar Lambef Schaapchieff,  
THE STEPFATHER OF DOROTHY  
HEALEY

In the past, DOROTHY HEALEY, <sup>Chairman</sup> of the Southern California District, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), had requested that the CP, USA inquire as to why her stepfather, (FNU) NESTER, also known as Todar Lambef Schaapchieff, who resides in Bulgaria, was not receiving his pension. This matter had been discussed with a delegate of the CP of Bulgaria who attended the 8th National Assembly of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, the CP of Cuba, during August, 1960. This matter was again brought up with various delegates from the CP of Bulgaria who attended the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1961.

At the National Committee meeting, CP, USA, held in New York, New York, during the period of January 20 - 22, 1961, HEALEY transmitted through BEN BOBB, a member of the National Committee, a message of thanks to MORRIS CHILDS for getting a pension for her stepfather, FNU NESTER.

FBI

Date: 2/8/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReNYlet, 2/7/61, advising that through a contact of the NYO, new office space can be obtained for NY 694-S, in a building at 50 Broad St., NYC.

On 2/8/61, NY 694-S advised that on 2/7/61, he inspected a two-room office on the 20th floor of the building at 50 Broad St., and considered it ideal for his purposes. The space, the NYO has been advised by its contact, is worth \$200 per month, but NY 694-S may rent it for \$125 per month. Maintenance of the present cover company office costs \$134 per month, \$102 being for rent and the balance for the maintenance of two telephones, one an unlisted phone without answering service, for contact between the informant and the NYO. The cost of maintenance of the proposed new office, including cost of telephone as described above, would be \$157 per month.

The informant states that although he must secure the approval of VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY of the location of the proposed new office, circumstances are such that he must signify to the company operating the office building - preferably by 2/9/61 - that he will rent the desired space, and be prepared to sign a two year lease therefor. He feels that BARKOVSKY will have no objection to the proposed new location of the informant's office. If by some chance he should, NY 694-S feels that with the assistance of CG 5824-S, BARKOVSKY's objection would be overcome.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)  
1-NY 134-91A (INV.) (41)  
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-47

FEB 9 1961

ACB:ume  
(7)Approved: 52 FEB 15 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-134637

The informant also notes that he must give notice to the owners of the building where his office now is located that he intends to move at the end of February.

It is requested that the Bureau authorize NY 694-S to rent the proposed office under the terms above-mentioned, and that the NYO be authorized to re-imburse him for expenses incident to moving to the new address.

Inasmuch as terms of rental require that two months rent be paid in advance, it is further requested that the NYO be authorized to make an advance of \$250 to NY 694-S for the aforesaid purpose.

7/9/61

ASAC McCabe advised that changes were being made in my plan & to disregard this. My is sending in additional advice concerning the matter.

gar

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 2/7/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet to Chicago, copy to NY, 1/27/61, instructing both offices to submit recommendations as to the feasibility of using an informant such as [redacted] or [redacted] as a third person for clandestine meetings with VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY.

ReBulet also instructed NY to submit recommendation as to the feasibility of moving the office of NY 694-S to another location in NYC. b7D

By letter to Bureau, 2/2/61, under the caption, "[redacted]" copy to Chicago, the NYO advised that in its opinion [redacted] after successful development, would be particularly well suited to being "the third person" in contacts with BARKOVSKY. NY 694-S, as the NY letter of 2/2/61, reflects, is of the opinion that [redacted] under the informant's guidance, could be trained to replace, if necessary, NY 694-S in some of the latter's operations.

With regard to the feasibility of moving NY 694-S' office, the Bureau's attention is directed to NY letter 1/26/61, captioned, "SOLO; IS-C." Said letter reflects that at a scheduled meeting with BARKOVSKY on 2/3/61, NY 694-S would submit to the latter suggestions regarding a change in location of the informant's office.

By airtel dated 2/6/61, under the "SOLO" caption, the Bureau and Chicago were advised regarding the meeting on 2/3/61, between NY 694-S and BARKOVSKY. The said airtel reflects that BARKOVSKY did not approve NY 694-S' suggestions regarding a change in the location of the informant's office, and insisted that the new location be in the area of lower Broadway, near the Battery.

2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
1-Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (SOLO) (RM)  
1-NY 134-91 (ADM.) (41)  
[redacted] (ADM.) (41)  
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:ume

(6)

57 FEB 15 1961

REC-47

100-428091-1189  
FEB 8 1961

NY 100-134637

Through a contact of the NYO, arrangements can be made for the informant to rent a two-room office suite at 50 Broad St., which is in the area suggested by BARKOVSKY, and which would cost approximately what the informant's present office costs. NY 694-S will investigate this proposed location within the next few days and if he considers it suitable, he will suggest it to BARKOVSKY at their next meeting, which is scheduled for 2/12/61.

The Bureau and Chicago will be advised of further developments in this matter.

It should be noted that BARKOVSKY, on 2/3/61, insisted that NY 694-S move to a new location by 3/1/61.

1 - Mr. LaPrade

Legal Attache, London

February 8, 1961

Director, FBI (100-428091)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Enclosed is a Photostat of a 47-page document concerning the Sino-Soviet dispute which sets forth the contents of a letter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated 11-5-60. This document was obtained by a highly sensitive Bureau source.

You are authorized to furnish the enclosure on a strictly top secret basis to your source in   b7D

Enclosure

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Enclosure is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because disclosure of this information could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

See memorandum Baumgardner to Belmont dated 2-2-61 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - C."

REC-31

EX-114



FEB 9 1961

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-428091-1190

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

JWL:kmo  
(5)

52 FEB 10 1961

FEB 10 1961

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 2/2/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46, Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information on  
 the following page to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN on 1/31/61.  
 It pertains to LOUIS WEINSTOCK and a request of NOEL FIELD.

- 1-1243 JWR  
 ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-93

EX-114

12 FEB 4 1961

57 FEB 15 1961

Approved: G. H. S. / 107

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_



EX-114

REC-93

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
NOEL FIELD

CZEC In the latter part of September, 1960, LOUIS WEINSTOCK, the General Manager of "The Worker" and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), was in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on his way back from Hungary where he had attended his daughter's wedding. While in Hungary, WEINSTOCK stated he had spoken to NOEL FIELD, who evidently is a wealthy man.

HUNG U.S. WANTS TO  
FIELD indicated he wanted consultation with his attorney in the United States for the purpose of developing ideas on how to give his money to an institution, organization or individual who could funnel it into the CP organization. FIELD also wants to give some of this money to his son who is supposed to be residing in the United States. The source of FIELD's money is unknown.

MONEY

100-428091-1121  
ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 2/2/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

Re New York airtel, 9/23/60, containing information concerning STEVE SALLOF.

On 1/31/61, CG 5824-S\* orally furnished to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN the information on the following page concerning STEVE SALLOF. Dissemination of this information is being made by separate communication to the San Francisco Office.

SALAFF

- 1-1243  
 ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

K.A. Wick

REC-93

12 FEB 4 1961

XEROX  
FEB 13 1961

Approved: [Signature]  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per [Signature]

FEB 16 1961

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-429475

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
STEVE SALLOF, STUDENT AT  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALI-  
FORNIA, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

In September, 1960, DANNY RUBIN, who is in charge of youth matters for the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), requested that efforts be made to verify the claim of ~~STEVE SALLOF~~, a student at the University of California, Berkeley, California, that he was formerly a member of the CP of Great Britain. Verification of this information was desired because SALLOF has indicated he wanted to cooperate with the CP, USA.

Towards the end of October, 1960, this matter was taken up with GEORGE MATTHEWS, a member of the Politburo and Editor-in-Chief of the London "Daily Worker" in Moscow, Russia. Shortly thereafter, MATTHEWS returned to Great Britain but was again in Moscow in early November, 1960, to attend the meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties. Upon his return, MATTHEWS advised that this fellow SALLOF was okay and had worked and cooperated with the CP of Great Britain.

100-428091-1192

- 1 -

ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 2/3/61

REC-47

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

CG 5824-S\* on 1/31/61 orally furnished the information appearing on the following pages to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information concerns the organization Star of Hope, San Francisco, California.

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

REC-47

EX-114

FEB 6 1961

59 FEB 16 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

O 8

LETTER TO NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV  
FROM THE STAR OF HOPE,  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

In early December, 1960, after the conclusion of the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, Russia, ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKIN, who is presently in charge of the United States in the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of the Soviet Union, met with MORRIS CHILDS and commented that he had something to show him. He took a letter from his pocket dated either February or March, 1960, which was on the stationery of the Star of Hope, San Francisco, California. GRECHUKIN claimed the letter had been received much later than the date appearing on it and he did not know what delayed it. He wanted to discuss this letter.

At the suggestion of MORRIS CHILDS, discussion of this letter was postponed until NICKEY LIMA, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, who had been in Moscow as a delegate to the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, could participate. It was desired that LIMA be present because he was familiar with activities in the District of Northern California. This meeting between MORRIS CHILDS, NICKEY LIMA, and GRECHUKIN occurred on or about December 7, 1960. At this subsequent meeting, LIMA verified the fact that the Star of Hope was a legitimate organization in the San Francisco, California area. D. S. 1/10/61

The Star of Hope is evidently an organization in favor of peace and cooperation between the United States and the U.S.S.R. in outer space activities. They suggested in their letter, which was address to NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, with a copy to President EISENHOWER, that since both the United States and the U.S.S.R. were capable of launching artificial satellites, that one such satellite be jointly launched that would be illuminated by paint or by other scientific means which would point up the cooperation between these countries. Prior to the launching of such a satellite, the Star of Hope would gather a million signatures from the most prominent persons in the world who were in favor of scientific cooperation rather than nuclear war. These signatures would be placed in the satellite and orbited into outer space.

100-478021-11  
ENCLOSURE

The Russians never replied to this letter up to December, 1960, and when asked why, GRECHUKIN stated they wanted to consult to see if it were genuine.

A number of names appeared in this letter and MICKEY LIMA supplied the background regarding them as noted:

~~FRANCES GEDDES~~, President of Star of Hope;  
~~VANDER RAUVEY~~, TV Director;  
~~GEORGE D. BERTON~~, Secretary, Astronomy, California Academy of Science;  
~~DOROTHY H. ROGERS~~, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;  
~~BENJAMIN H. SWIG~~, Chairman of the Board, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco;  
~~JAMES A. INE~~, Episcopalian clergyman;  
~~NORMAN L. CONRAD~~;  
~~LESTER ROGERS~~;  
~~TREVOR THOMAS~~, Friends, Legislative Committee;  
~~JOHN MC CONNELL~~, Executive Committee, Star of Hope and Assembly representative.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 8, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

My memorandum 1-6-61 sets forth in detail the receipts and disbursements of funds by the Communist Party, USA, during the month of December, 1960. These funds have been received from the Communist Parties of Red China and the Soviet Union. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with the receipts and disbursements subsequent to 12-31-60.

SUMMARY

Total received from Soviets 9-58 to 1-31-61	\$524,385
Total received from Red China 2-60 to 1-31-61	50,000
Grand total received to 1-31-61	\$574,385
Total disbursements 10-58 to 1-31-61	424,919
Balance of Fund 1-31-61	\$149,466*

\*\$46,021 maintained by NY 694-S\* in safety deposit box, New York City and \$103,445 maintained by CG 5824-S\* in safety deposit box, Chicago, Illinois.

DETAILS

Total received from Soviets 9-58 to 12-31-60	\$524,385
Total received from Red China 2-60 to 12-31-60	50,000
Grand total received to 12-31-60	\$574,385
Total disbursements 10-58 to 12-31-60	411,419
Balance of Fund 12-31-60	\$162,966

Receipts during January, 1961

100-428091

- 1 - Mr. Parsons  
 1 - Mr. Belmont  
 1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
 1 - Mr. Fox

FFF:kmo  
 (5)

59 FEB 16 1961

REC-17 100-428091-1194  
 16 FEB 14 1961

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

Disbursements during January, 1961

1/4/61 - Gus Hall; for use of CP national office	\$1,000
1/5/61 - Isadore Wofsy; for use of CP national office	1,000
1/20/61 - Isadore Wofsy; for use of CP national office	8,000
1/26/61 - Gus Hall; for use of CP national office	1,500
1/30/61 - Isadore Wofsy; for use of CP national office	1,000
1/31/61 - Peggy Dennis; for hospital expenses of Eugene Dennis	<u>1,000</u> \$13,500

Balance of Fund 1-31-61

\$149,466

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is being submitted for your information and an up-to-date accounting of these Solo funds will be brought to your attention each month.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



F B I

Date: 2/2/61

EX-114  
REC-46Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

are  
Burr/Hansen

CG 5824-S\* on 1/31/61 orally furnished to  
SA RICHARD W. HANSEN the information appearing on the  
following page concerning GEORGE SISKIND.

- 1-1243
- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
(5)

Molden  
Fitz  
Branigan

attest

REC-46  
EX-114

100-428091-1195  
3-jw

12 FEB 4 1961

Wick

LET 4 1 10 11 61

Belmont  
Laird  
Hansen

99 360119/ey  
51 FEB 16 1961  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION CONCERNING  
GEORGE SISKIND

*M.S. 61*  
On or about December 15, 1960, it was learned from ABE CHAPMAN, a former resident of the United States now residing in Prague, Czechoslovakia, that there is an old comrade by the name of GEORGE SISKIND residing in Poland. *V.I.S.A.*

SISKIND was either deported or voluntarily left the United States under pressure a number of years ago.

CHAPMAN stated that SISKIND has been doing propaganda work and teaching in Poland. SISKIND recently wrote a book on M. J. KEYNES, the British economist. SISKIND has now offered to write for the American Party and agreed to contribute articles to either "Political Affairs" or "Mainstream". SISKIND had taught for a number of years at numerous Communist Party, USA classes and schools before leaving the country.

SISKIND's wife died from cancer a year ago and his son is reported to be mentally ill. He is the brother of BEATRICE SISKIND JOHNSON. *N.D. 400*

F B I

Date: 2/8/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

On 1/31/61, CG 5824-S\* orally furnished the information appearing on the following page to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information deals with a request for medical treatment in the Soviet Union on behalf of the son of MICHAEL DAVIDOW.

- ③ - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (AM) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

RWH:ntb  
 (5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

CC - Wick

INFORMATION REGARDING A REQUEST  
FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT IN THE  
SOVIET UNION ON BEHALF OF THE  
SON OF MICHAEL DAVIDOW

It will be recalled that in 1959, the New York District of the Communist Party requested that there be transmitted to the Russians through the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), an inquiry on behalf of MICHAEL DAVIDOW, a member of the CP. This inquiry dealt with the possibility as to whether the Russians would accept the son of DAVIDOW, who was suffering from epilepsy, and give him medical treatment in the Soviet Union. At that time, the Russians replied that the treatment that DAVIDOW's son would receive in the Soviet Union was nothing over and beyond that which he could receive in the United States.

While in attendance at the meeting of the 31 Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, Russia, during November, 1960, a second request for medical treatment in the Soviet Union on behalf of DAVIDOW's son was again submitted to the Russians, this time by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee, CP, USA. JACKSON presented the Russians with documents and a complete case history of DAVIDOW's son. No response to this inquiry has been received from the Russians to date.

100-435091-1175  
- 1 -  
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 2/9/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*Remyairtel, 2/8/61, requesting the Bureau to authorize NY 694-S to rent an office at 50 Broad St., NYC, and to sign a lease therefor on 2/9/61.*

As will be noted, referenced letter reflects that NY 694-S intended to move into the new office by 3/1/61. On 2/9/61, NY 694-S, CG 5824-S, and the NYO further discussed this proposed move - particularly from the security standpoint. It was agreed that for NY 694-S to be able to move on such short notice to a new location possibly might arouse some suspicion among the Soviets. The solution of the problem, it was agreed, would be that to allay suspicion, and also to insure that the informant obtain the office suite which so ideally suits his purposes, the office be rented now, and the informant move into it on or about 4/1/61, the lease to be effective as of 3/1/61.

BARKOVSKY can be told that NY 694-S is finding it extremely difficult to find a suitable office, but that he feels certain he will do so on or before 4/1/61. BARKOVSKY also can be told that, as an established businessman, NY 694-S cannot relocate his business on such short notice without serious interference with his business operations.

During the course of discussion, NY 694-S noted that the proposed new office site is in the area where the office of [redacted] is located, and that it will be ideally suitable as a meeting place for him and the latter.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
1-Chicago (134-46) (RM)  
1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)  
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:ume

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 10 1961

SEC.

NY 100-134637

It is requested that the Bureau approve the above proposal, and also payment of rent and telephone charges in the sum of \$134 incident to continued occupancy of the informant's present office during March, 1961.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. Belmont

DATE: February 10, 1961

FROM : R. O. L'Allier

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont ✓  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 W. C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Reference is made to my memorandum dated February 1, 1961. You will recall that [redacted]

[redacted] The material of interest [redacted] was in the document, "Contents of a letter of the Communist Party S.U. dated November 5, 1960," disseminated by the Bureau. As you know, the source for the sensitive material was CG5824-S\*.

Referral/Consult

On February 8, 1961 [redacted]

b7D

For your information we have given [redacted] a copy of the document prepared by our sensitive [redacted]

Referral/Consult

Actually such dissemination will enhance the prestige of the Bureau by further emphasizing the importance of the data developed by us.

ACTION:

EX 101

Referral/Consult

100-428091

SJP:ban

(7)

- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. LaPrade
- 1 - Mr. Papich

62 FEB 21 1961

f44

REC-58

FEB 16 1961

Mr. J. Roman  
 can advise  
 per above  
 2/14/61 PDD

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 3  
Page 102 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 207 ~ Referral/Direct  
Page 208 ~ Referral/Direct